California Jour

e Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

FEBRUARY 1983/$2.50

SPECIAL SECTION
'83 Roster and Guide

Jess Unruh: in power again

Mayor Feinstein: San Francisco's 'Queen Bee'

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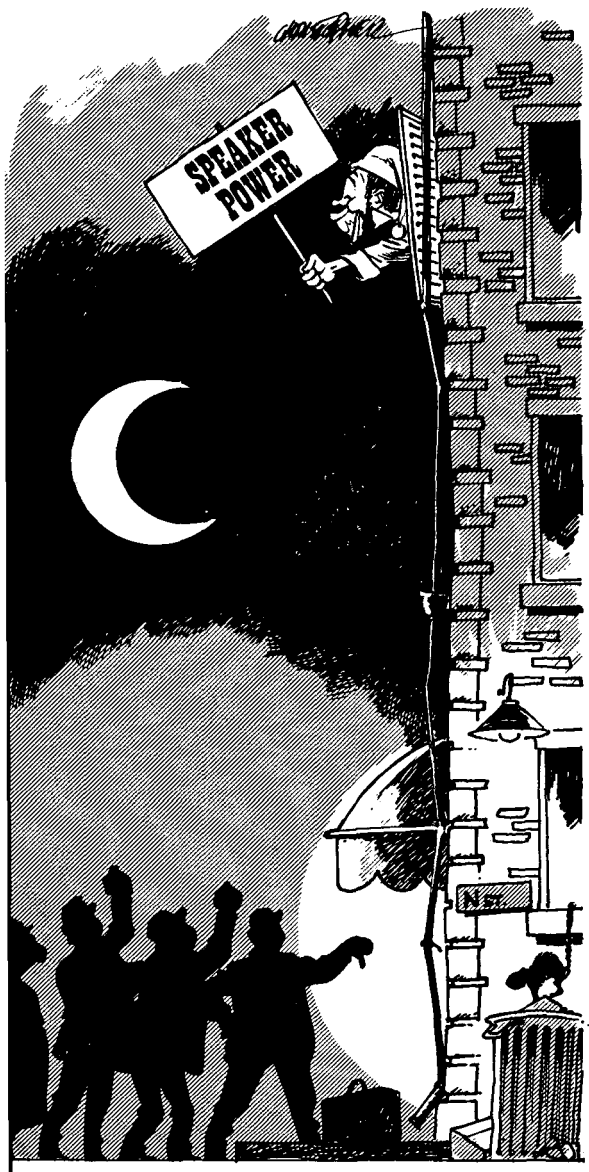
Assembly Speaker Willie Brown is known for wit and warmth, not patience. Wanting an apartment near the Capitol, and liking the one being vacated by former Governor Jerry Brown, Speaker Brown reached out and took it. The trouble is that others wanted the place as well, and one of them has filed suit. Sacramento attorney Geoffrey Wong contends that Brown should have put his name on the waiting list as he (Wong) and others have done. The fashionable, five story building was taken over by the state many years ago as part of a local development project and is still occupied by private citizens. Officials weren't saying much about how Brown got in.



Chief Justice Rose Bird may have set a record January 2nd and 3rd by swearing in six state officials. At the head of the list was Attorney General John Van de Kamp. Bird also did the honors for three Equalization Board members, a member of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and a Public Utilities commissioner.

Al Song, former state senator and now chairman of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, passed the bar exam in his native Hawaii and is, he says, the oldest new lawyer there. Song, who will be 64 this month, says he thinks about returning some day, but always has.

Martin Smith, political editor of *The Sacramento Bee,* has cancelled his subscription to the paper. He says it is not delivered to his home on time and is sometimes not delivered at all.

Governor Deukmejian has taken for his inner sanctum the small corner office within the governor's suite. Jerry Brown rarely used it, preferring instead to govern while roaming among the couches and tables of the much larger cabinet room.

Some people at the CHP were none too happy when actor Thomas Reilly, who plays Officer Bobby (Hotdog) Nelson in the television series CHiPs, was booked in Los Angeles on suspicion of driving under the influence of a drug. But nothing much was said about it to those who run the show. "Any attempt to influence the artists, writers and creative people would be out of line," explained CHP public information officer Dan Parker.

The state giveth and the state taketh? In seeking solutions to state government's budget woes, a couple of bills have been proposed that could force cities to give up more in cigarette taxes and in-lieu vehicle fees than they got from the state in net bail-out funds for fiscal year 1982-83. The League of California Cities condemns this as a "reverse bail-out" and urges all city officials to tell Sacramento that that's unacceptable.

Peter Kelly, the new Democratic chairman, hopes that a new law allowing taxpayers to make party contributions on their state income tax returns will make big money for Democrats. But the law — which Kelly helped enact — makes the contributions nondeductible. Since other party contributions are deductible, those who itemize deductions will lose money by using Kelly's law.

Jack Harrison, chairman of the 32nd AD Democratic Council, says he's not sure that Congressman Henry Waxman will ever recover from our having identified him as a Republican in last month's slate mailer article. We apologize to Democrat Waxman and to any Republicans who might have been preparing welcomes for the new brother.

Bill Saracino, who directs gun owners of California, says many gun owners are unhappy over Governor Deukmejian's new chief of State Police, former Foster City Police Chief John Norton, a supporter of Proposition 15, the handgun control initiative. Saracino noted, as have others, that last November's heavy turnout of gun owners against the measure helped Deukmejian win the election.

Mike Cullen wants it known that he is not a lobbyist, despite what we said in last month's article about former legislators in the lobbying business. Although Cullen is listed in the 1981-82 lobbyist directory published by the secretary of state (which is why he was included in our report), he quit the business about a year ago because his client, who wanted to legalize jai lai betting in California, ran out of money to pay him. An attorney, he is now in private practice. Reasonable fees.

Bud Lembke, the author of last month's article on slate mailers, was state media director for Proposition 11, the bottle initiative on the November ballot. Since that campaign figured in his article, we should have mentioned the connection in his identification.

California Congressman George Miller Jr. has proposed the dream ticket of himself and Ohio Senator John Glenn. The Glenn-Miller ticket would definitely be in the mood.

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The clear writing of Justice Kaus

By RICHARD THOMSON

People have made about every conceivable charge against the justices of the California Supreme Court, but no one has yet accused them of writing well. The court's opinions appear in standard legalese — long-winded, repetitive, devoid of any indication that they may have been written by a living human being. Happily we now have an exception in Justice Otto Kaus.

A case in point is *Bailey v. Loggins*, decided by the Supreme Court on December 10th, which deals with the right of the Department of Corrections to censor newspapers put out by prison inmates. The department, for reasons explicable only to those who know bureaucracies, refused to let the *Soledad* (Prison) *Star News* publish an account of a lecture given by Governor Brown's deputy legal affairs secretary. The prisoners sued.

The majority of the court decided that the department could have refused to allow the prisoners to publish a paper in the first place, or it could have made the paper a "house organ" voicing only the department's views. However, once the department let the paper be a forum for prisoner expression, the First Amendment prohibited censorship unless the security of the institution was involved.

Justice Kaus wrote in dissent: "I might mention at the outset that the practical effect of the majority decision is likely to be nil. There is obviously enough leeway in the court's criteria — threat to the security of the institution and proper penological purposes — to regulate the contents of a prison newspaper pretty much as it wants, provided that it is done in slightly less ham-handed fashion than heretofore.

"That problem aside, it seems to me that the majority starts from an erroneous premise: that in permitting a 'newspaper' to be published,

the current Department of Correction's regulations create a 'forum for the expression of ideas.' Once that proposition is accepted, the balance of the court's opinion falls along well-established First Amendment paths from which I would be the last to stray.

"I believe, however, that the premise is wrong." The justice then briefly looks at the department's regulations on prison newspapers, and determines that "they permit an intramural, educational training exercise, designed primarily to aid in the inmates' rehabilitation — a pedagogical effort to which the First Amendment is as relevant as the Clayton Act to a game of Monopoly . . .

"It is recognized that the department is under no compulsion to permit the publication of newspapers within our prisons. It has, however, made a stab in that direction but, for its pains, has been subjected to a rolling barrage of First Amendment artillery. If the department can live with the guidelines promulgated in this opinion — as I have suggested at the outset it can — no harm will be done. On the other hand, if it finds the guidelines intolerable, it will simply have to discontinue a worthwhile educational and vocational training program."

Justice Kaus' ability to express clear thoughts and clear language will not soothe the passionate court-haters, but it will make it easier for them, and for the rest of us, to understand what the court is doing. Moreover, it shows other judges, maybe even lawyers, that they do not have to write as poorly as they do.

A backlog without remedy

The problems of courts in Los Angeles, because of its size, are always worse than the problems anywhere else. Almost a third of all the superior court judges in the state are in that one county. While some dream of splitting California at the Tehachapis, court experts merely want to get rid of Los Angeles.

When court congestion becomes too great, one can try an alternative such as arbitration, which has been helpful in Los Angeles. But if more help is necessary, the standard remedy is to hire more judges. In Los Angeles, however, the county supervisors have rejected that remedy.

Last November the presiding judge of the Los Angeles Superior Court requested the Board of Supervisors to approve 15 new judges and to ask the Legislature to authorize them on an emergency basis. The supervisors disapproved the request unless certain conditions were met.

Among those conditions were that the Legislature shift more of the costs of the judgeships to the state and that it enact certain reforms in court procedure. Since the state has no additional money to spend on Los Angeles judges, since most of the requested reforms have already been rejected by the Legislature, and since the rest of the state could not care less whether Los Angeles gets more judges, the supervisors' answer amounted to a flat "no."

Thus we have Los Angeles with a backlog of civil cases exceeding 30,000, a growing backlog of criminal cases, and no more judges in sight. If the Civil War were to begin again, most court experts would encourage Los Angeles to join the South.

Richard Thomson is chief counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

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Deukmejian's budget surprise: unbalanced and unorthodox

"Your ship, Captain." SCOTT STANTIS — THE REGISTER, LOS ANGELES

By ROBERT FAIRBANKS

Eight years of avant-garde governorship have ended, and the buttoned-down family man from Long Beach has moved into the corner office at the State Capitol. And what does he show? That he can be unconventional, too. Granted, the new man didn't proclaim the state's role in a space shot, or show off his windmills, or disclose that he's going to Africa with Linda Ronstadt. But when Governor George Deukmejian called for an unbalanced budget, you have to admit that things won't be so dull around here after all.

Actually, Deukmejian has taken similarly unbuttoned actions in the past, such as the lawsuit against school violence that he filed while attorney general. But his unique fiscal proposal has drawn much more attention. He's governor now, and this is the major feature of the fiscal program that he has proposed for the coming 18 months. In all probability, the unbalanced-budget idea is going nowhere in its current form and will likely be merged into some form of tax increase before the budget ritual ends in June. In fact, it may be modified even sooner, as Deukmejian and the Legislature's Democratic majority work out a solution to the state's current cash-flow and borrowing problems.

A necessary beginning

But the proposal was a necessary beginning for his negotiations with Democrats, and it says something about Deukmejian himself: He will do the unorthodox while pursuing whatever he may think is a higher goal. For the rest, his fiscal program was unsurprising, though he did seem so anxious to root out the works of Jerry Brown that he ignored a reality or two.

The background of the unbalanced budget goes like this: The spending plan that Brown and the Legislature adopted last June is seriously out of whack. According to all estimates, when the budget year ends this coming June 30th, state government will have spent at least $1.5 billion more than it will have taken in. Deukmejian had hoped that Brown and the Legislature would fix the problem during the special session last December. But lacking leadership from lame-duck Brown or from Deukmejian himself (who chose not to get involved), lawmakers divided between Democrats who wanted higher taxes and Republicans (mostly in the Assembly) who wanted radical spending cuts. As a result, nothing got done.

Then on January 3rd Deukmejian was sworn in, and it was his turn to deal with the deficit. But he had a problem in that the deficit had not slipped onto the stage unnoticed, suddenly startling one and all. During last fall's gubernatorial campaign there were plenty of signs that the recession was worsening and that revenue collections were running unexpectedly low. Deukmejian's Democratic opponent, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, said he favored spending cuts to right the balance but would not rule out a tax increase. However, Deukmejian steadfastly ruled it out. "I believe it is not necessary to increase state taxes," one of his position papers declared.

But as Deukmejian was to discover (or already knew), there was no way to balance the budget without a tax increase. In other words, it was legally and politically impossible to cut $1.5 billion from a $22 billion general fund

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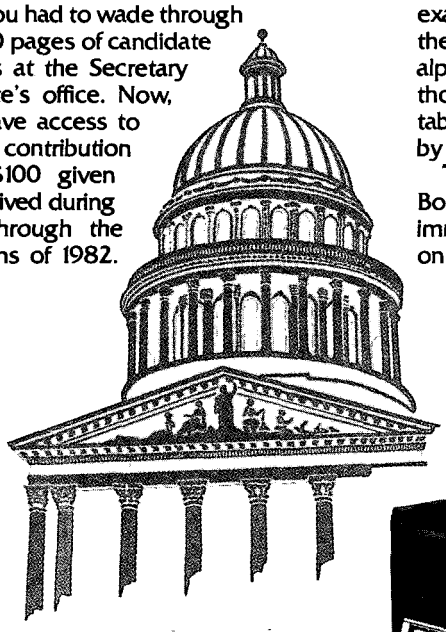

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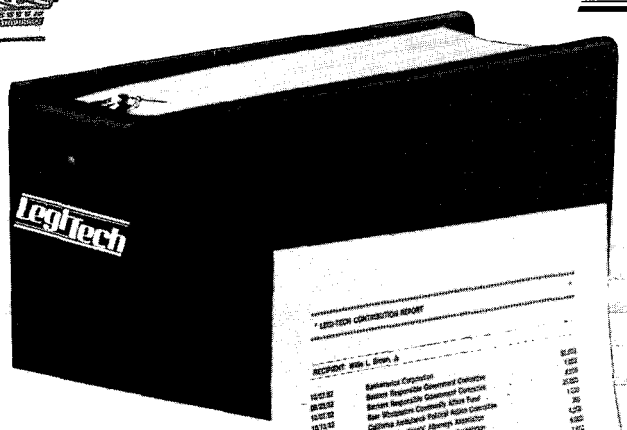

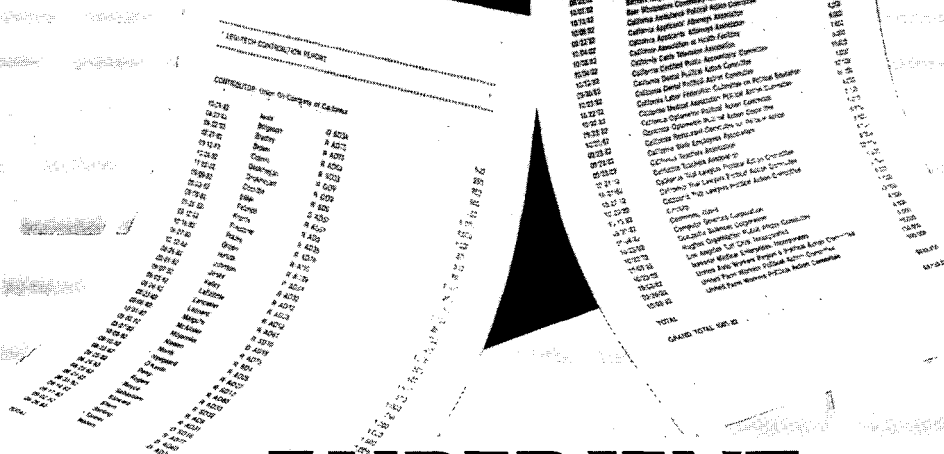

EXPEDIENT POLITICAL INFORMATION

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spending program that had already been on the books for six months. (In effect, half the money had already been spent.) In the area of state operations, where the governor has considerable power, he would have had to lay off 60,000 state employees to make that kind of cut. (State operations take about 20 percent of state funds. The rest of the money goes for schools, welfare and other locally administered programs.) As Legislative Analyst William Hamm pointed out, even if Deukmejian wanted to lay off so many, there was not enough time to complete all the procedures before the fiscal year ran out. If he tried to take the money from local programs, he would face similar problems, such as asking for layoffs in school districts that have collective bargaining contracts with their employees.

Shattering tradition

At that point, Deukmejian could have done what a lot of other politicians in his place would have done: He could have said that now that he is in office and has full access to all the statistics, he realizes that his earlier position must be modified. (After all, he'd been busy campaigning and the deficit had been worsening with time.) In short, a moderate tax increase is necessary, he could have said. Although a few hard-line conservatives might have grumbled, everyone else would have gone along.

But Deukmejian did not do that. Instead, he sought to honor his pledge against higher taxes by shattering California's tradition of keeping all its budgets in balance. If he couldn't cut $1.5 billion from current year spending, he would do what he could. He would cut $750 million, allow the budget year to end in the red and repay the remainder from revenues collected in the following fiscal year. But this is deficit financing, the same device that brought disaster to the City of New York. True, replied the Deukmejian forces, but it would happen only once, from this year to the next, and then all budgets would be balanced again.

In his State of the State speech, Deukmejian contended that Brown and the Legislature had been doing much the same thing over the previous five years by spending more than the state was taking in and making up the difference by drawing down the huge surplus that state government had accumulated in the mid-'70s. "Deficit spending," he called it. But it was not the same. Deficits were not carried from one year to the next.

(This is not to say that Brown and the Legislature have been always honest. Last year, they surreptitiously borrowed $200 million from the County of Los Angeles to help balance the budget, and they overestimated Medi-Cal savings to brighten their revenue projections for the coming year. But the tradition of the balanced budget was not openly challenged.)

Democrats, of course, were vehemently opposed to the deep spending cuts that Deukmejian's program would require, whether the cuts were spread over two fiscal years or not. But they also opposed the idea of deficit financing itself, saying that if they had proposed the idea, the Capitol roof would have collapsed on their heads. Indeed, as the fray continued, Democrats became the fiscal conservatives. "Once we've opened the door to deficit financing, there is a good chance we will never be able to close it," said Senate President pro Tem David Roberti of Los Angeles as he pushed for a constitutional amendment to forbid the practice in the future.

But to many around the Capitol, the whole proposal was simply a surprise. Even though the idea first floated from the Assembly's very conservative Republican caucus, and even though Deukmejian contends that it's the only way to straighten out the state's fiscal problems without a tax increase, it still seems like an unRepublican, unconservative thing to do.

However, if one looks at Deukmejian's earlier career, it is no surprise at all. In a number of ways, particularly during his most recent four years as attorney general, Deukmejian has shown that he is not your standard conservative, the kind of person who minds tradition and the status quo, and who avoids radical changes while pursuing immediate goals. Perhaps the best example of this occurred in 1980 when Attorney General Deukmejian — a critic of activist courts — nevertheless went to the courts in pursuit of a new law. Like a storefront lawyer, Deukmejian filed a public interest lawsuit against the cream of Los Angeles officialdom, accusing it of condoning excessive violence in the public schools.

Deukmejian's goal was to have the courts establish a new legal principle that public school students were entitled to be safe in their classrooms. With such a principle on the books, Deukmejian could then file lawsuits to block actions which, in his opinion, would make classrooms unsafe. When asked about the lawsuit later, Deukmejian indicated that he had thought of going to the Legislature and asking it to establish the principle by writing a law. However, he had decided that opposition from school lobbyists and others would kill the bill. But what about his contentions that courts had no business writing new laws? "I really feel that it (the lawsuit) is in the public interest," Deukmejian replied.

An iffy thing

In any case, it's now an unbalanced budget that is in the public interest, if only because it will prevent a tax increase.

For the rest, Deukmejian's fiscal program consists of his budget proposals for 1983-84, the new fiscal year that begins July 1st. Under the best of circumstances, a governor's budget, submitted to the Legislature in January, is an iffy thing. By the time lawmakers complete their work in June, much of it may be changed. But Deukmejian's budget is even iffier than most because he does not say where or how he will find the $750 million needed to repay the remainder of this year's $1.5 billion deficit. (Remember, he was to get the first $750 million by cutting current-year expenses.) Deukmejian would like to make that decision in May, when revenue estimates for the coming 12 months will be more accurate.

But meanwhile his budget proposals remain unusually uncertain. For instance, he has said that public education is a top priority and has proposed a 6 percent funding increase, costing $447 million, for the public schools. However, there's no guarantee of what may happen to the school money in May when the administration begins looking for funds to pay off the deficit.

In all, the budget would total $25.7 billion, down about 2 percent from estimated current year total of $26.2 billion. Deukmejian, a bit rosily perhaps, is predicting general fund revenues (which finance day-to-day operations) at $22.5 billion, just $5 million more than he plans to spend.

Not surprisingly, since Deukmejian ran for governor in large part against Jerry Brown, many of his proposed budget cuts fall on agencies that Brown created or strongly supported: the Coastal Commission, the Energy Commission, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and Caltrans' efforts to promote ridesharing, buses and trains.

In his State of the State speech, Deukmejian aimed his most derisory language at the latter, calling them "exotic transportation schemes" and saying that he prefers the "proven priorities of safe, well-maintained and efficient highways."

But exoticism, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. And to many who also behold the constant threat of another Mideast oil embargo the building of a new highway may seem more exotic than a bus, by far.

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New power for an 'old statesman:' Unruh's $3 billion lending machine

By ROBERT FAIRBANKS

A newly powerful figure has arisen in state government, but he wears an old familiar face: that of Jesse Marvin Unruh. Most people, including Unruh, thought he had retired from serious politics back in 1974 when he got himself elected state treasurer. As keeper of state securities and administrator of bond auctions, the treasurer had about as much political clout as the director of a local mosquito abatement district.

But radical changes have occurred since then, giving the treasurer's office powers undreamed of by treasurers past. And Unruh, the "Big Daddy" Assembly speaker of two decades ago, is on top once more.

Some of Unruh's new preeminence is the work of Unruh himself. Only a forceful person could have made the treasurer's office as powerful as it is today. And, if nothing else, Unruh is forceful. He is a big man (5 feet 11 inches and about 220 pounds) who at age 60 shows relatively little sag and flab. (He works out at a gym thrice weekly, he says.) But more importantly, he retains the urge to impose order and regularity over the areas about him, the "take-charge" behavior that has always marked his political career. Even as the director of a mosquito abatement district, Unruh would be impressive.

But even so, the treasurer's office lacked the institutional power needed to give Unruh the statewide reach and authority he enjoys today. However, the continuing climb of interest rates over recent years has caused a fundamental change. Because of the run-ups, a variety of private interests have marched on government seeking relief. As a result, there now exists a surprisingly unnoted series of programs run by state and local governments to furnish low-interest loans. Much of the money goes to selected corporations and business groups, but many ordinary citizens benefit as well. At the moment, the loans are pouring forth at an estimated rate of nearly $3 billion a year. State Controller Ken Cory, who keeps an eye on the state's fiscal affairs, called the lending programs one of California's major growth industries. And Unruh is at the center of it all.

How they work

Unruh's power over the lending programs may have been missed by many because the programs have been created piecemeal over the years. Also, they are rarely discussed for what they are: a means for handing out low-interest loans. If they are discussed at all, they are described in terms of "tax-exempt revenue bonds," a phrase guaranteed to deaden the interest of even the most conscientious citizen. But a lot of money is involved, and this is how a major program works:

A land developer wants to put 100 homes on a piece of property but knows he cannot sell them at today's high mortgage-interest rates. Thus, he searches for below-market financing. A group of investors would like to lend him money, but the group members are all in the 50 percent bracket, meaning that half of whatever interest payments they receive will be taken by income taxes. Thus, they will not lend at below-market rates. But if the interest payments were exempt from taxation, the investors could keep all the money they received. Consequently, they would lend at lower rates and the developer would have the below-market financing that he needed.

But how do you get money to developers and declare tax exemptions at the same time? The answer is that you run the transactions through a government entity whose payouts, by law, are tax-exempt. And so in 1975 Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. and the Legislature created the California Housing Finance Agency. Limited to financing low- and moderate-income housing, the agency borrows from investors by selling them bonds and then distributes the bond funds to selected bankers and other property developers. In effect, the developers use the money to erect the structures and take their profits. Now the homes are sold at below-market mortgage rates to low- and moderate-income persons, whose mortgage payments repay the bond buyers. If the repayment process should break down, the bond buyers bear the loss. Although a state agency sold the bonds, it does not back them.

Housing programs account for about half the low-interest loan money that has flowed from state agencies in recent years. Most of the rest goes to corporations or institutions that receive the money and repay it themselves.

Deferring to Unruh

Specifically, there are nine state programs now that provide low-interest loans to private interests of one sort or another through the sale of tax-exempt revenue bonds. (They are called "revenue bonds" because they are repaid from a specific revenue source, such as mortgage money from a housing project. The other bond type is "general obligation." These are debts against the government itself and must be repaid with whatever revenues are available.)

Three of the programs benefit housing; a fourth helps students and educational institutions, including trade schools, by financing low-interest student loans. The others provide loans for installation of industrial pollution controls, college and university expansions, hospital construction, alternative energy developments and the building of high-speed rail lines.

The treasurer dominates the programs because the Legislature has made him chairman of seven of the nine ruling groups (commissions, committees and so on) that effectively run them. The groups are small (mostly three, four or five members) and generally include with Unruh state officials who have major duties outside the area of bonds. Knowing less about bonds than the treasurer, they tend to defer to Unruh's judgments. Also, Unruh has a reputation for being quick and shrewd with fiscal details — "a good numbers person," in the words of state Controller Cory, who serves with Unruh on many of the panels. Cory, who was an Unruh protégé as a young assemblyman 20 years ago, also notes that many of the panel members additionally defer to Unruh in the crucial business of hiring the staff aides who shape the programs by handling day-to-day

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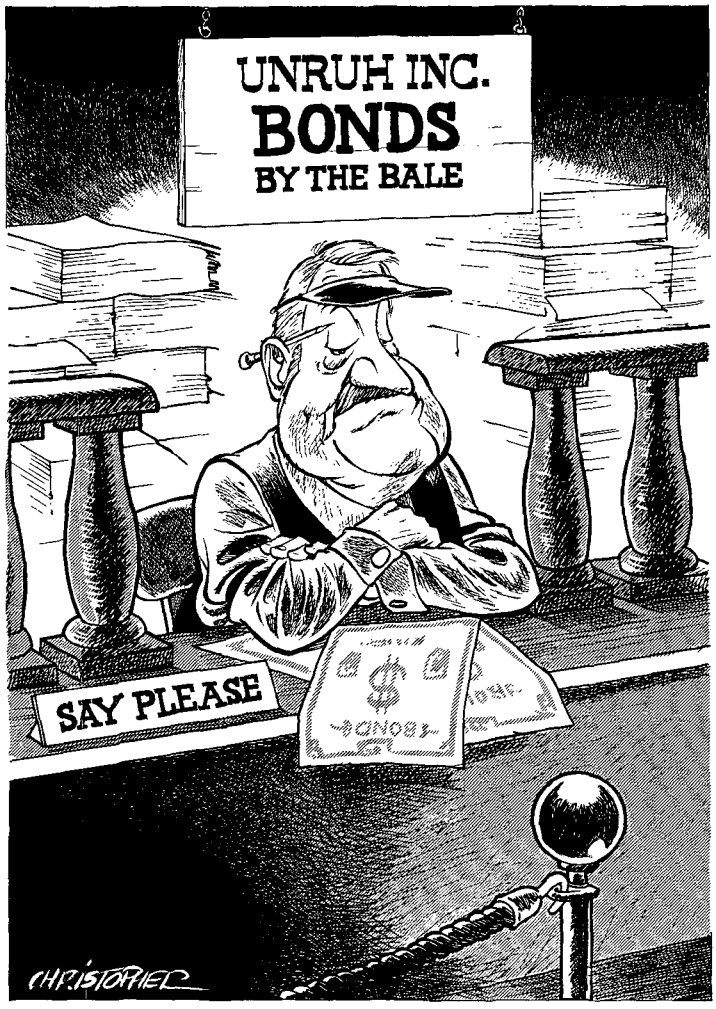
operations of the various commissions.

The two programs that Unruh does not directly dominate provide low-interest home loans to veterans (outside the traditional Cal Vet program) and provide similar low-interest loans as an inducement to join the California National Guard. Both are run by the State Department of Veterans' Affairs, but the bonds must be sold through Unruh's office. Outside state government, among the bankers and bond salesmen, Unruh is clearly regarded as the man in charge. "From my perspective, he's the most powerful man in the state. He's got his hand on the money," says one.

The Legislature gave Unruh power over the lending program in large part because the treasurer's office traditionally has handled all state bond sales. Indeed, two of the private interest bond programs — pollution controls and college expansions — had already been created, with the treasurer as chairman, when Unruh was elected in 1974. (They were approved in 1972 and 1973, respectively.)



But there were no guarantees that the precedent would continue. In fact, when the Legislature created the Housing Finance Agency in 1975, Unruh had to lobby hard for a place on its 11-member governing board. (Once included, however, he became chairman of a powerful five-member committee that has the final say over which housing bonds may be sold.) Thus, as Unruh pointed out during a recent interview, much of the power he holds results from his having gone to the Legislature (usually in person) and asked for it.

The most recent example of how it all works occurred last August when the Legislature — under pressure from the governor's office and elsewhere — was rushing to enact the controversial bullet-train bill. (See following story). The measure, opening the way for a private corporation to build a bullet-train line between Los Angeles and San Diego, included provisions for a $1.25 billion revenue bond issue to help finance the project. Seeing that the bill could not be stopped, Unruh said, he lobbied the Legislature to get what he called "solid control" over the bonds. As a result, California's new bullet-train law also creates a four-member commission, headed by Unruh, that must assure the project's fiscal feasibility before bonds can be sold. But should the treasurer have such life-or-death power over the bullet-train plan? "Would you like the alternative to have been that Larry Gilson (president of the bullet-train corporation) had the authority to issue $1.25 billion worth of revenue bonds?" Unruh asks.

But Unruh's power goes beyond deciding whose private project may or may not be helped by the sale of tax-exempt bonds. There is another dimension to a bond sale, one that is as important and potentially lucrative to those involved as is the project to be financed by the bond itself. That is the business of buying the bonds from the state and selling them to private investors. The process is called "underwriting," and the firms that do it include virtually every major bank and brokerage house in the nation, from Bank of America to Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner and Smith, Incorporated. Generally speaking, underwriters get from 1.5 to 3 percent of the face value of whatever bonds they handle. For example, if the bullet-train project should fly, so to speak, the underwriter would make up to $37.5 million on the $1.25 billion issue. And the person most likely to choose the underwriter would be Unruh.

Until recent years, the business of selecting an underwriter was largely a mechanical function within the treasurer's office. This was so because underwriting firms bid against each other for the resale right to state bonds. The treasurer simply opened the envelopes and chose the firm that offered the most to the state. But underwriters contend that bidding works only when the bonds involved are to be issued and repaid by a known quantity, like the state of California. In that case, with all background factors known, the cost of preparing a bid is small. But the revenue bonds that have been proliferating in recent years through the private interest programs, although issued by state agencies, are to be repaid by unknowns, like a housing project. In such cases, the cost of gathering information and preparing a bid is large. As a result, the underwriter cannot do so unless guaranteed in advance that he will get at least a share of the bond-selling business. The solution has been a virtual end to bidding in the state's low-interest loan programs.

Instead, Unruh's office negotiates with the underwriters and selects the firms that will market each agency's bonds. As mentioned earlier, two of the bond programs are run by the Department of Veterans' Affairs. But even there, Unruh's influence is important. Don Backstrom, the department official in charge of the programs, says that when it comes to selecting underwriters, "Jesse Unruh works so close with us, we pretty much rely on his advice."

According to interviews with various officials in several underwriting firms, Unruh's underwriting selections have been fair and reasonable. But there is a belief that it could be dangerous to cross him. Much of that stems from Unruh's punishment last August of underwriter Dean Witter Reynolds Incorporated and an associated law firm for selling $60 million worth of local government housing bonds

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without approval from the treasurer's office. Unruh barred the two firms from participation in several later bond issues. Dean Witter officials said they acted properly, but Unruh said they violated the spirit of a housing bond allocation law.

Although the incident is closed, the memory remains. None of the underwriting officials would speak for the record, but all seem to agree with one who said he was "concerned" by Unruh's new power. In response, Unruh is philosophical: "We would all kind of like to have a kind of controlled anarchy. We'd like to have the situation where we are under no one's control but the society is still controlled. A particular underwriter, obviously he would prefer to be in a position where he could get all of the business and charge whatever he can get away with . . . Nobody likes to have anybody with any input."

Unruh's words also apply, he says, to the officials in California city and county government who, like the under-

The Treasurer's Role

Bonding or Control Agencies	Provides Financing For	Date of Creation and Bonding Limit	Membership
California Pollution Control Financing Authority	Water, air or land anti-pollution projects.	1972; no limit.	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director.
California Educational Facilities Authority	Construction or expansion of private non-profit educational facilities.	1974; no limit.	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director and two public members appointed by the governor.
California Housing Finance Agency	Apartment units and single-family homes.	1975; $1.85 billion.	Six gubernatorial appointees, one of whom is chairman; director of Housing and Community Development; secretary of the Business, Transportation and Housing Agency; one appointee by Assembly speaker; one by Senate Rules Committee and the treasurer.
Housing Bond Credit Committee	Finances nothing itself but must approve bonds before they can be sold by Housing Finance Agency.	1975	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director, executive director of the agency.
California Health Facilities Authority	Non-profit health facilities construction and remodeling.	1979; $1.534 billion.	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director.
California Student Loan Authority	Repurchases federally insured student loans from lending institutions so that lenders will make new loans.	1980; $150 million.	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director.
California Alternative Energy Source Financing Authority	Industrial facilities using new energy sources and technologies.	1980; $200 million.	Treasurer (chairman), Finance director, controller, Energy Commission chairman, president of Public Utilities Commission.
California Industrial Development Financing Advisory Commission	Issues no bonds itself but reviews local government industrial development projects.	1980	Treasurer (chairman), controller, Finance director, Economic and Business Development director, Corporations director.
California Debt Advisory Commission	Issues no bonds, but monitors bond sales by all other government agencies.	1981	Treasurer (chairman), governor, Finance director, controller, two local government finance officers, two Assembly members, two senators.
Mortgage Bond Allocation Committee	Issues no bonds but sets housing bond quotas for other state agencies under federal rules and allocates housing bond quotas to other state and local agencies.	1981	Treasurer (chairman), controller, governor or Finance director.
California Passenger Rail Financing Commission	Rapid rail transit system projects.	1982; $1.25 billion.	Treasurer (chairman), and three appointees, one each by governor, Assembly speaker and Senate Rules Committee.

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PHOTOS BY CHRIS VAN OVERLOOP

writers, have been fidgety in the face of the treasurer's new powers. Their fear is that Unruh will erase local governments' right to use bond financing for whatever projects they please. Perish such radical thoughts, says Unruh; the locals resent him because of the purely minimal restraints on their bonding that have been imposed.

Basically, the situation is this: Local governments, like the state, have been responding to run-ups in interest rates by issuing revenue bonds to furnish land developers and others with low-interest loans. Additionally, the locals have been using revenue-bond funding programs to replace the general obligation bond issues that were effectively wiped out by the 1978 passage of Proposition 13.

Generally speaking, Unruh has been suspicious of the local level bonds, largely because there is so little control over what an obscure irrigation district, for instance, might be doing with its tax-exempt privilege. Unruh himself didn't mention it, but one of his deputies pointed to the case of a small special district in Southern California that sold a pollution-control revenue bond to finance construction of a private golf course and condominiums.

Consequently, Unruh opposed for many years legislation that would create industrial development bond programs, through which local governments would furnish low-interest loans to businesses for plant expansions and the like. However, he said, he lost the fight in 1981 to the business and labor groups that wanted the program. The best he could get into the bill, he continued, was a five-member advisory commission, headed by himself, that reviews the local proposals but can stop only "the worst" of them.

What's the worst? Unruh cited the case of a company that wanted a low-interest loan to finance its move from one California community to another. In testimony before a congressional committee last April, Unruh also complained that many local governments remain outside the advisory committee's jurisdiction, and he indicated that really bad things may be happening there. "Quite frankly," he said, "I don't think we should be in the business of financing with

Curriculum Vitae

Unruh was born September 30th, 1922, in rural Kansas and was raised in poverty on the Texas panhandle. He served in the Navy during World War II, was graduated from the University of Southern California in 1948 and was first elected to the Assembly in 1954. Tough and shrewd in the often grimy business of legislative politics, Unruh served as Assembly speaker from 1961 to 1969, longer than any other.

In 1970 Unruh was the Democratic candidate for governor against incumbent Ronald Reagan. After that loss, he ran for mayor of Los Angeles in 1973 and lost again, this time to Tom Bradley. Having taken the defeats personally, Unruh seemed to glow a bit in 1974 when voters elected him treasurer, giving him his first statewide victory with a comforting 600,000-vote margin.

Unruh's Assembly colleagues gave him the "Big Daddy" nickname 25 years ago when he weighed 300 pounds, voraciously indulged all his appetites and disdained those who believed that noble ideals could win elections. "Money is the mother's milk of politics," he told them. Unruh deeply resents the nickname today and says that it should not be uttered without at least mentioning some of his other works from those years: the landmark legislation in the areas of civil rights, tax reform, education, consumer credit and legislative ethics.

Through the years, Unruh has kept up friendships with many members of the Legislature, particularly in the Assembly. To many lawmakers, he is a political resource, a place to go for solace and advice. He once told an interviewer that he tells them, "I can't tell you what to do, but since I've made every mistake it's possible to make, I can tell you what *not* to do."

Unruh takes credit for having helped pass Proposition 13 in 1978 by pointing to the huge surplus that existed in the state treasury then and calling it "obscene." In 1979, at Unruh's urging, lawmakers created the Commission on State Finance to provide regular reports on the state's fiscal condition, whether surplus or deficit. Unruh, of course, was made chairman.

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tax-exempt bonds such projects as national retail stores, motels, golf and tennis facilities, massage parlors, pizza parlors and the renovation of sports stadiums."

Even though Unruh complains about the looseness of industrial development bonds, he has been given by the Legislature a device for some control over them. In 1981 lawmakers approved, at Unruh's urging, a bill to create the "California Debt Advisory Commission," a nine-member panel with Unruh as chairman. The law required that every bond-issuing agency in the state, from the lowliest special district to state government itself, submit its bond program to the commission for review at least 10 days before issuance. The commission cannot veto an issue, but it might raise a hue and cry that could accomplish the same result.

Unruh called the commission a "traffic cop," but added that "it might even be regarded as a fiscal Paul Revere, sounding the alarm whenever questionable bond schemes are being hatched or outrageous interest rates are being contemplated." The commission began operations in 1982 but has sounded no alarms so far. However, an Unruh deputy said that it may have already prevented questionable issues from being sold because the backers did not wish to risk a commission review.

But Kenneth Emanuels, a lobbyist for the League of California Cities, says that many city officials remain unsatisfied. They agree that some special districts have caused "problems" because of their bond issues, but deny that cities have been involved and therefore need a state review. Also, he says, despite Unruh's denials, many city officials believe that it won't be long before the commission is empowered to reverse a city council's judgment by prohibiting particular bond issues from being sold.

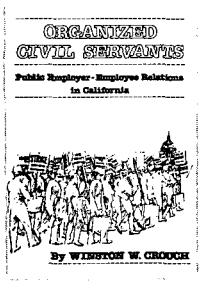
Emanuels also makes the point that much of Unruh's power results from his continuing good relationship with members of the Legislature. "I see him in the Capitol building; I see him at Frank Fat's (a favorite legislative restaurant); I see him with them all the time," he says.

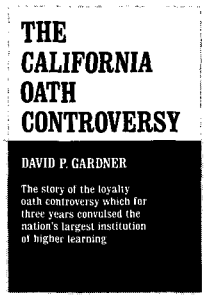
Unruh's new power is also apparent in all the standard state Capitol measurements. Since his first year in office, the treasurer's staff has increased by 63 percent and the office budget has risen by 180 percent. Also, Unruh is doing exceedingly well in raising campaign contributions. He collected more than $500,000 for last year's campaign, about five times the $110,000 he raised for 1978. Much of last year's money came from the underwriting firms that need his approval to sell the state's private interest bonds. Dean Witter Reynolds Incorporated, the firm that Unruh punished last August, perhaps saw the need to return to his good graces and came up with a healthy $15,000. Shell Oil Company gave $4,000, up from $400 in 1978. A company spokesman said the increase had nothing to do with the $70 million anti-pollution loan that Shell received from one of Unruh's lending authorities last fiscal year.

When asked about his contributions, Unruh said that he doesn't like the system and has supported public financing of elections for about 25 years. "They don't have to contribute," he said of the firms that give him money. "All they have to do is get a public financing bill passed."

Unruh ended his last campaign with a $300,000 surplus. Might the money be the nucleus for another Unruh effort to become governor, a job that he still wants? Unruh said he has no plans for a race and detests the fund raising that would be required. "When I think of the indignities, the humilities, that you've got to go through, as Tom Bradley did to get $9 million. And then of all the things people expect of you, and I don't mean governmental actions. But you've got to go and stroke this old duffer here and that elderly lady there, not because you want to but simply because they've got money. That's bad enough for a young striver, but it's not becoming for an older statesman like me."

THREE SUPER BOOK BARGAINS

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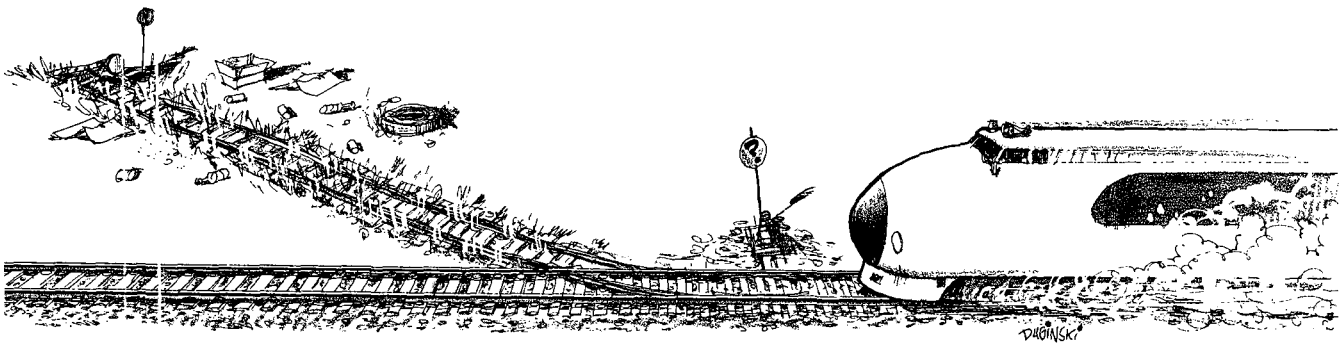
Hitting the brakes on that fast-moving bullet train



By DAVID OGUL

They want to railroad this on through,
Trying to put one over you.
There's only one thing left to do:
Stop the Bullet.

Medflies, fires, floods and quakes,
This train will really make you shake.
It's time for us to hit the brake
And stop the Bullet.

Those lyrics to a new country-western ballad probably will never make the Top 10 in Nashville. But in the coastal communities between Los Angeles and San Diego, "Stop the Bullet" is more than a disc-jockey favorite these days. It has become the musical rallying cry for a campaign to fight the proposed LA-to-San Diego bullet train.

For a project that whipped through the state Legislature last year with only a token public hearing and little debate, the bullet-train idea has recently acquired all kinds of enemies and controversy. For example:

- **Spurred by angry** protests from coastal residents, the Public Utilities Commission announced it will hold extensive hearings on the high-speed train proposal, once its backers file the required application to build. The PUC, which must approve the 132-mile rail line, promises to study such issues as need, routing, cost, safety, financing and environmental impact — even though the Legislature's hastily approved authorization (AB 3647) has been interpreted as exempting the $3 billion proposal from review under the state Environmental Quality Act.

- **Republican legislators** from the South Coast introduced a bill (AB 4) in December requiring that a majority of local governments in LA, Orange and San Diego counties approve the project before the PUC could give its OK. Assemblyman Bob Frazee of Carlsbad and Senator Bill Craven of Vista co-authored the bill with Assemblywoman Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. (Frazee and Craven originally voted for the bullet train project; Bergeson abstained.)

- **The same legislators** have asked Governor George Deukmejian to postpone his appointment to the commission which is to oversee sale of tax-exempt bonds to help build the private project. State Treasurer Jesse Unruh, who would serve as chairman of the commission, is clearly in no rush to market new bonds, given the state's precarious fiscal condition.

- **Even in Japan,** where railroad and financial officials had been expected to help finance the Japanese-built equipment for the California line, enthusiasm was cooling. Japanese bankers are suspicious that ridership projections are overly optimistic and want to do their own study before committing up to $500 million to the project. Their government, dismayed by the growing controversy, fears an anti-Japanese backlash that could have major implications for the increasing trade-protectionist mood in Washington.

- **Because of loose wording** in the original bullet-train bill, it appears that any high-speed project could qualify for the environmental exemptions and for a crack at the $1.25 billion in tax-exempt state revenue bonds. As a result, Las Vegas city officials are pushing for a high-speed (250 miles per hour) railroad tie with Los Angeles, using futuristic "magnetic levitation" engineering, still in the experimental stage.

All of this constitutes a rude halt to the spectacular progress last year of bullet-train promoter Lawrence

David Ogul is a staff writer for the Oceanside Blade-Tribune *and the* San Dieguito Citizen.

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Gilson, a former Amtrak official, and his private American High Speed Rail Corporation. In a matter of months, Gilson obtained the promise of $4 million of Japanese funding, with assurances of more; the free use of public rights-of-way along the LA-to-San Diego corridor which a federal study calls the nation's most promising route for high-speed transit; crucial exemptions from the state's tough Environmental Quality Act and the 1976 Coastal Act; plus authorization for $1.25 billion in tax-exempt state bonds.

Except for the Japanese funds, all of the above resulted from a bill carried by Democratic Assemblyman Bruce Young of Norwalk. (A former consultant to Young's Assembly Transportation Committee, Carl Schiermeyer, now works as a public relations man for American High Speed Rail.)

The bill's handling has been a big talking point for the train's opponents, mostly environmentalists and people living near potential routes. In only six days and without a full-scale public hearing, the heavily amended Young legislation was brought out of a conference committee, passed by both houses and placed on the governor's desk. Jerry Brown signed the measure a few days later.

It was in the conference committee where the meat of the bill — the environmental and Coastal Commission exemptions — was added. When the legislation was brought back to the floor of both houses in the hectic waning days of the 1982 legislative session, representatives were advised only on the bonding aspects of the bill.

"My greatest concern is the manner in which it was done," says Assemblyman Frazee. "The process really disturbs me more than the legislation itself."

But to opponents of the project, the prospects of a high-speed train in their neighborhood is the real problem. Just days after AB 3647 was signed into law, a group of eight residents in the cozy San Diego County coastal community of Cardiff-by-the-Sea got together. That was the birth of the United Citizens Coastal Protective League, which has attracted nearly 1,000 members in just four months. They have been busy lobbying local and state representatives, writing letters to newspapers, distributing "Stop the Bullet" bumper stickers and promoting their theme song, written by Jeff Knowles of Encinitas.

Assemblyman Young, author of the bullet-train bill, says some of the project's problems have developed because its promoters "have been far too cautious and have not made enough information available." One reason for this, according to Young, is that the corporation is currently negotiating with Santa Fe and Southern Pacific railroads, and premature disclosure of information may harm negotiations.

But the biggest roadblock is the media, Young says. "The media has done an incredible job of turning logic and truth on its head," he insists. For example, Young says it was "not his intention" to exempt the project from the environmental review process. Such reviews "are going to have to take place," he says, because "exemptions are inconsistent with state law."

Time may in fact be the train's greatest enemy. The state Coastal Commission also maintains that the bill does provide for commission review. That review — combined with a series of public hearings and possible litigation in the courts — could make the whole project unaffordable. American High Speed Rail officials estimate that every year of delay would add at least $350 million to the project's price tag. Opposition to the newest Japanese bullet train line prolonged that project until it took twice as long and cost nearly three times as much as originally anticipated.

Young, however, is convinced the bullet-train line will eventually be built. "If you think somebody is going to waste $5 million on some little fantasy," Young says, "you're crazy."

Opponents of the bullet train complain of a lack of information about proposed routes, possible noise problems and other environmental concerns. Assemblyman Young has agreed to hold hearings early this year but says their purpose is to alleviate confusion, not to change the bullet-train legislation.

One concerned resident is Don Loeffler of Solana Beach, who worked on the engineering studies for the Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART). "I think it (the bullet train) is a wonderful idea, but the way they're disseminating information is absolutely abominable," Loeffler says. The corporation "ought to have knowledgeable engineers disseminate the information when they have it all," he says.

Backers of the bullet train believe their opposition has been unnecessarily aroused by media agitation on environmental questions. Pointing to Southern California's lack of public transportation and the potential for thousands of construction jobs, they insist that the high-speed train would provide an environmentally sound solution to both transit and employment problems. They also say their ridership projections are reasonable in light of the fast-growing population.

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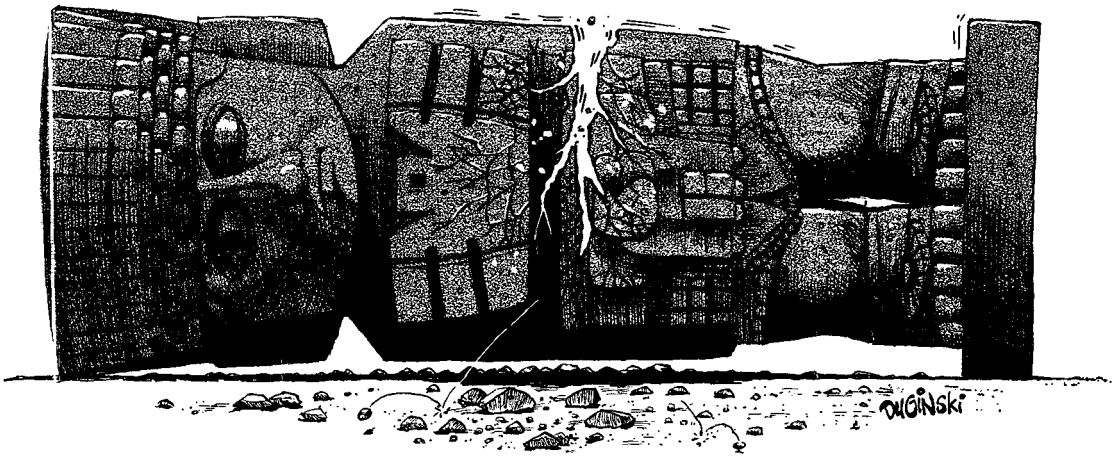
The Chavez cloud on Senator Torres' political horizon



By TONY CASTRO

Farm labor leader Cesar Chavez, with a roll-call card and pencil in hand, sat in a first-row seat of the Senate gallery in late December, closely monitoring an 11th-hour effort to confirm Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s final appointee to the controversial Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

Chavez' tally showed that Senate Democratic leaders were one vote shy of the 21 votes needed to confirm Jorge Carrillo, then the ALRB's executive secretary and an appointee Chavez considered crucial if his union were to maintain a friendly majority on the board.

On the Senate floor sat a Democrat who once had worked as a legislative aide to the farm workers and who now faced an opportunity to cast the deciding vote for Carrillo.

But Senator Art Torres, 36, of Los Angeles, who had been sworn into office earlier that month, refused to make a move. Not until Republican Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco provided the 21st vote that confirmed Carrillo's appointment did Torres cast an unneeded 22nd vote.

"I'm not a vengeful person," Torres said, standing at the rear of the Senate chamber after the vote had been announced. But from his seat in the gallery, Chavez probably had a different view of the new Hispanic senator.

The incident was only one of several clear signals that the two-year feud between Torres and Chavez continues. It has pushed Torres into a series of decisions which may pose a threat both to his Los Angeles East Side base of support and to his political ambitions for statewide elective office.

Backing Snyder

The latest chapter in the Torres-Chavez dispute involves controversial Los Angeles City Councilman Art Snyder's bid for re-election in an East Side district which is 75 percent Hispanic. Torres is honorary co-chairman of Snyder's campaign; Councilman Snyder was co-chairman last year of Torres' bitter primary challenge to state Senator Alex Garcia. While such political *quid pro quos* are common, Torres' siding with Snyder has disappointed many Hispanics who believe he has turned his back on their hopes of electing in April the first Hispanic to the City Council in 21 years.

The reason: Snyder's chief opponent is Steve Rodriguez, a charismatic 34-year-old urban planner around whom a bipartisan group of Hispanics is mounting a surprisingly serious challenge to Snyder. The contest provides another chance for Chavez to embarrass Torres politically, and the farm workers are lending strong support to Rodriguez.

Seeking revenge

Privately, Torres still smolders from last spring's painful primary against Garcia whose onslaught of personal attacks produced one of the dirtiest campaigns in recent California history.

Among Garcia's major supporters had been the United Farm Workers and its near-legendary leader, Chavez, who, feeling betrayed by Torres in the 1980 Assembly speakership fight, had vowed to seek political revenge.

Perhaps the circumstances demanded too much, but in victory, Torres has shown himself to be an unforgiving winner. His sideline stance in the Carrillo confirmation went against a career history of having supported farm workers' interests in the Assembly. A week after the Carrillo incident, Torres also voted against the confirmation of Governor Brown's appointment of ALRB staff attorney Nancy Kirk as general counsel to the board. Kirk had also been strongly supported by Chavez and opposed by California growers and other agribusiness interests. Torres' explanation: He "had not been asked" for his support.

The Torres-Chavez friendship broke up over Willie Brown's Assembly speakership election in December 1980, when Torres and Assemblyman Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles reneged on their promise to vote for then-Assemblyman Howard Berman, the Chavez-backed candidate.

Tony Castro, a former Nieman Fellow at Harvard and author of Chicano Power: The Emergence of Mexican America, *is a columnist for the* Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

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The split among three of the most prominent Hispanic figures in California ended between Chavez and Alatorre last fall when Alatorre went to the UFW headquarters in the Tehachapi Mountains near Bakersfield and extended an olive branch of peace. Chavez, about to lose a friend in the governor's office and needing to solidify his strength in the Legislature, reciprocated by contributing a quarter-of-a-million dollars to Speaker Brown.

But the feud between Torres and Chavez has not ended. Torres says he has made overtures toward reconciliation with Chavez through "intermediaries." During the debate on Carrillo's confirmation, Torres says, he asked Senate President pro Tem David Roberti to "arrange a meeting between Cesar and me. He came back, though, and said Chavez didn't want to talk to me," according to Torres.

The LA council race in Snyder's district will be the next test of the two men's political strength. "This is perhaps the most important political challenge facing Hispanics in the history of Los Angeles," says ARCO executive Al Zapanta, formerly under-secretary of the Interior under President Gerald Ford and one of the most influential Republican Hispanics in the country. "Never before has Snyder been more vulnerable than at this time."

In December, Snyder signed an agreement tantamount to an admission of guilt and was fined $14,000 by the state Fair Political Practices Commission on 10 counts of violating conflict-of-interest and campaign-contributions laws. That same day, Snyder called a press conference to repudiate his statement, saying he had signed an agreement of "lies" to avoid a lengthy lawsuit.

The significance of the Rodriguez candidacy is that it points up the rise of new Hispanic leadership unintimidated by the traditional California Hispanic political establishment and raises doubts about the mantle, so often placed on Torres: that he is the Hispanic most likely to be elected to statewide office.

"We are a new, second wave of Hispanic leaders," Rodriguez says, contrasting himself with Torres. "We are bankers, educators, developers, consultants — businessmen and professionals who have not had to make our living as politicians and aren't obligated to the politics of the past."

Torres is downplaying his involvement in the City Council race, saying his energies will be concentrated on the spring school board race where East Side Hispanics also are challenging incumbent Richard Ferraro. But even in that race, Torres found himself in a political hotbed when he was accused by officials of the Mexican-American Political Association of "power brokering" and "stacking" an ad hoc community convention in favor of his own hand-picked candidate, Larry Gonzales, an administrative aide to Torres in Los Angeles. Torres had helped organize the convention as an open forum to independently select an Hispanic school board candidate.

Feeling betrayed

Perhaps the deepest hurt for Torres — and a wound sources close to him say is only now healing — is his feeling of betrayal and abandonment last year by people who once had been his friends and supporters. "Many of them turned on him," says Assemblywoman Gloria Molina who succeeded Torres in the 56th Assembly District, "for no other reasons than that they were followers of Cesar. I think he knows now who his real political friends are."

Then there was Senator Roberti's surprisingly strong support of Garcia. In the final weeks of the primary, Roberti sent top aide Jerry Zanelli to help run Garcia's campaign. Zanelli, as executive officer of the Senate Rules Committee of which Roberti is chairman, had long been recognized as one of the most influential men in the capital.

"Dave," Torres reportedly said to Roberti in a meeting during the primary, "how can you dignify a campaign like this?"

"It broke Art's heart," said a legislative source close to both men, "to learn that Roberti could be so impersonal as a politician. Art's gift as a politician is also his Achilles heel. Art takes politics personally."

Once sworn into the Senate, though, Torres put on the team-player mask, saying: "I think we both have reached a point where we want to work at an effective relationship. We're on good speaking terms. Is our split healed? Yes."

"Art is going through a period of adjustment," says Alatorre. "I still think he has a tremendous future in politics. But any time you're involved in a bitter election, you're going to wind up a little bruised and not liked by some people. I don't think that he's bruised severely. He just went through a lot. But he *is* the senator."

The cost, though, may be far more than the $1 million spent by both Torres and Garcia in the campaign. Torres declines to discuss his strained relationship with Chavez for the record. In a recent interview he explained why: "Vengeance and vindictiveness are not a part of my nature."

But Paul Chavez, Cesar's son and UFW political director, says future performance will be the measure of Torres. "The voting record and actions of an elected official say far more than his words," says son Paul.

And, referring to the fact that LA Mayor Tom Bradley ran without the endorsement of the UFW, Paul Chavez offers this opinion, perhaps with Torres in mind: "Bradley's narrow gubernatorial defeat showed that any minority candidate seeking statewide office without the active support of the farm workers is begging to get beat."

The ballot front . . .

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. (Signatures required and deadlines are in parentheses.)

In circulation:

- **REAPPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to block enactment of congressional district lines as defined in AB 2, passed by the Legislature in December. Referendum would not challenge Board of Equalization lines also defined in AB 2. (393,835, April 2nd)
- **LOTTERIES, GAMBLING** — a constitutional-amendment drive (the 18th) to legalize gambling in California, with all proceeds to benefit public education. (553,790, March 14th)
- **VOTERS-ELECTORS** — an amendment to clarify the constitution by changing the word "electors" to "voters" in provisions dealing with the initiative process. (553,790, March 14th)
- **MARIJUANA** — an initiative-statute drive (the 12th) to legalize and to provide amnesty for personal use of marijuana for persons 18 and over. (393,835, April 4th)
- **SPORTS FANS CONSUMER BOARD** — an initiative statute to establish a non-profit corporation to represent the interests of sports fans before owners, Legislature and other public bodies. (393,835, April 21st)

Failed to quality:

- **UTILITY RATES** — a constitutional amendment to roll back utility rates and to require refunds to consumers.

Qualified for next election:

None to date.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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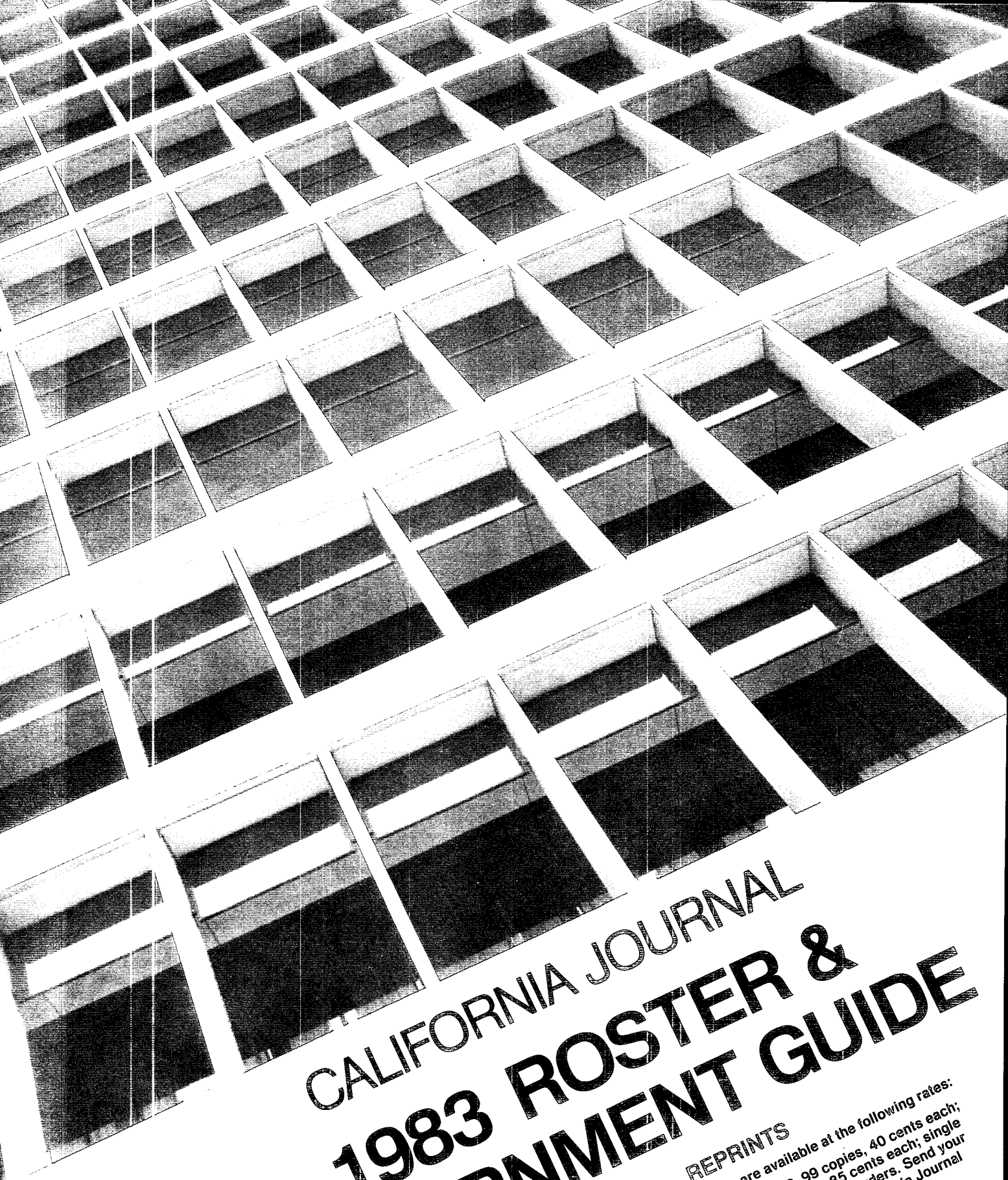

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Los Angeles 90012
Tel. (213) 620-5280

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Sacramento 95814
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Tel. (916) 445-3028

Attorney General

John Van de Kamp (D)

555 Capitol Mall, Suite 350
Sacramento 95814
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(916) 445-7254

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(916) 445-1690

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Pete Wilson	R	880 Front St., S-69, San Diego 92188	(619) 230-0366
		11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	
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Bates, Jim	D	44	San Diego	880 Front St., Rm. 5-S-35, San Diego 92188	(619) 234-2766
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Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside	657 N. La Cadena Dr., Colton 92324	(714) 825-2472
Burton, Phillip	D	5	San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862
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Name	Party	District	Counties*	Main District Offices**	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	11	Alameda, San Benito, Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St. San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	34	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	515 N. Arrowhead Ave. San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-3165	445-6868
Beverly, Robert G.	R	27	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Boatwright, Dan	D	7	Contra Costa	1035 Detroit Ave. Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-6083
Campbell, William	R	33	Los Angeles	1661 Hanover City of Industry 91748	(213) 964-1443	445-2848
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	37	Orange	5400 Orange Ave., Cypress 90630	(714) 952-3201	445-5581
Craven, William	R	38	San Diego	2121 Palomar Airport Rd. Carlsbad 92008	(619) 438-3814	445-3731
Davis, Ed	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura	6700 Fallbrook Ave., Canoga Park 91307	(213) 999-0070	445-8873
Deddeh, Wadie	D	40	San Diego	430 Davidson St. Chula Vista 92010	(619) 427-7080	445-6767
Dills, Ralph C.	D	30	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Doolittle, John	R	3	Sacramento	5777 Madison Ave., Sacramento 95841	(916) 338-5930	445-5788
Ellis, Jim	R	39	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., El Cajon 92020	(619) 464-7204	445-3952
Foran, John F.	D	8	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	13	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Greene, Bill	D	29	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	P.O. Box 254646 Sacramento 95826	(916) 481-6540	445-0870
Hart, Gary	D	18	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	1216 State St., #507 Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-5405
Johnson, Ray	R	1	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba	515 D St., #2 Marysville 95901	(916) 743-1828	445-6747
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino Sonoma, Solano	631 Tennessee St. Vallejo 94590	(707) 557-0190	445-3375

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Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone
Fiedler, Bobb	R	21	Los Angeles, Ventura	21053 Devonshire Blvd., Chatsworth 91311	(213) 341-2121
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	Los Angeles	936 W. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles 90044	(213) 750-0260
Hunter, Duncan	R	45	San Diego, Imperial	2530 Highland Ave., National City 92050	(619) 474-8554
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Lantos, Tom	D	11	San Mateo, Santa Clara	520 S. El Camino Real, San Mateo 94402	(415) 342-0300
Lehman, Richard	D	18	Calaveras, Fresno, Mono, San Joaquin, Tuolumne	1900 Mariposa Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5670
Levine, Mel	D	27	Los Angeles	2210 Wilshire Blvd., Box 316, Santa Monica 90403	(213) 393-7291
Lewis, Jerry	R	35	Inyo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	101 S. 6th, Redlands 92373	(714) 792-5901
Lowery, Bill	R	41	San Diego	880 Front St., San Diego 92188	(619) 231-0957
Lungren, Dan	R	42	Los Angeles, Orange	5514 Britton Dr., Long Beach 90815	(213) 594-9761
Martinez, Mathew	D	30	Los Angeles	8873 E. Valley Blvd., Rosemead 91770	(213) 287-1134
Matsui, Robert	D	3	Sacramento	650 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814	(916) 440-3543
McCandless, Al	R	37	Riverside	6529 Riverside Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 682-7127
Miller, George	D	7	Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman	D	13	Santa Clara	1245 S. Winchester Blvd., San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	Los Angeles	420 N. Brand Blvd., Room 304, Glendale 91203	(213) 247-8445
Packard, Ron	R	43	Orange, San Diego	1207 Elm Ave., Carlsbad 92008	(619) 434-7181
Panetta, Leon	D	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo	380 Alvarado, Monterey 93940	(408) 649-3555
Pashayan, Charles	R	17	Kings, Kern, Tulare, Fresno	1702 E. Bullard, #103, Fresno 93710	(209) 487-5487
Patterson, Jerry	D	38	Orange	34 Civic Center Plaza, Suite 921, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-3811
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	Los Angeles	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Shumway, Norman	R	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou	1150 W. Robinhood, Stockton 95207	(209) 957-7773
Stark, Fortney (Pete)	D	9	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 635-1092
Thomas, William	R	20	Kern, San Luis Obispo, Los Angeles	1830 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 327-3611
Torres, Esteban (Ed)	D	34	Los Angeles	12440 E. Firestone, #117, Norwalk 90650	(213) 929-2711
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles	8425 West 3rd, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Zschau, Ed	R	12	San Mateo, Santa Clara, Stanislaus	505 W. Olive, Suite 125, Sunnyvale 94086	(408) 730-8555

**Mail for members of the House may be addressed to House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, tel. (202) 224-3121.

Name	Party	District	Counties*	Main District Offices**	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Lockyer, Bill	D	10	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd. Hayward 94511	(415) 582-8800	445-6671
Maddy, Ken	R	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1310 Security Bank Bldg., Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 485-6260	445-9600
Marks, Milton	R	5	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
McCorquodale, Dan	D	12	Santa Clara, Stanislaus	277 W. Hedding, #217 San Jose 95112	(408) 277-1470	445-3104
Mello, Henry	D	17	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito Rd., Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-5843
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	11001 Valley Mall, El Monte 91731	(213) 575-6956	445-3386
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Napa, Colusa, Solano, Glenn, Sonoma, Yolo, Lake, Tehama	415 Main St., Woodland 95695	(916) 662-7315	445-3353
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	36	Riverside	3600 Lime St., Riverside 92501	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 445-4404	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	23	Los Angeles	6671 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	24	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd. Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-5588	445-7928
Royce, Edward R.	R	32	Orange	13030 Euclid Ave., #110 Garden Grove 92643	(714) 534-8510	445-5831
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Seymour, John	R	35	Orange	1360 S. Anaheim Blvd. Anaheim 92802	(714) 999-0963	445-4264
Speraw, Ollie	R	31	Los Angeles	1800 E. Wardlow Rd., Long Beach 90807	(213) 426-7021	445-4961
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Kings, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	1311 California Ave. Bakersfield 93304	(805) 395-2797	445-6637
Torres, Art	D	24	Los Angeles	548 S. Spring St. Los Angeles 90013	(213) 627-5333	445-3456
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare	120 W. Tulare Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641
Watson, Diane E.	D	28	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215

*Senators representing odd-numbered districts were elected in 1980. New districts were drawn in 1981 and were disapproved in a referendum in June 1982. However, the Supreme Court had ordered the new districts use in 1982 for electing senators representing even-numbered districts. In late 1982 districts were redrawn again. Senators from odd-numbered districts will be elected in these new districts in 1984 and senators from even-numbered districts will be elected in 1986. Detailed maps of the 1981 reapportionment and the 1982 reapportionment are available from California Journal Press.

**During session, mail for senators may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

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Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles	5200 York Blvd. Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Allen, Doris	R	71	Orange	5911 Cerritos Ave. Cyprus 90630	(714) 821-1500	445-6233
Areias, Rusty	D	25	Santa Clara, Monterey, Merced, San Benito	140 Central Salinas 93901	(408) 422-4344	445-7380
Bader, Charles W.	R	65	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	203 W. G St. Ontario 91762	(714) 983-6011	445-8490
Baker, William	R	15	Contra Costa, Alameda	1243 Alpine Rd., Suite 102, Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 932-2537	445-8528
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles	5430 Van Nuys Blvd. Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94610	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Bergeson, Marian	R	70	Orange	4500 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 641-7441	445-7222
Bradley, Bill	R	76	San Diego, Riverside	2091 E. Valley Parkway Escondido 92027	(619) 489-8924	445-8211
Bronzan, Bruce	D	31	Fresno	2607 Fresno St., Suite A Fresno 93721	(209) 445-5532	445-8514
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles, Orange	1945 Palo Verde Long Beach 90815	(213) 493-5514	445-8492
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Calderon, Charles	D	59	Los Angeles	1304 W. Beverly Blvd. Montebello 90640	(213) 721-2904	445-0854
Campbell, Robert	D	11	Contra Costa	2901 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94804	(415) 237-8171	445-7890
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego	1129 G St. San Diego 92102	(619) 263-2148	445-7610
Clute, Steve	D	68	Riverside	3600 Lime St., #716 Riverside 92501	(714) 781-3222	445-5416
Condit, Gary	D	27	Stanislaus, Merced	948 11 St., Suite 10 City Mall, Modesto 95354	(209) 576-6211	445-8570
Connelly, Lloyd G.	D	6	Sacramento	2705 K St., Suite 6-A Sacramento 95816	(916) 443-1183	445-7807
Cortese, Dominic	D	24	Santa Clara	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Fresno, Merced, Kings	1111 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558
Davis, Gray	D	43	Los Angeles	9601 Wilshire, Suite 506 Beverly Hills 90210	(213) 275-7030	445-4956
Elder, Dave	D	57	Los Angeles	245 Broadway Long Beach 90802	(213) 590-5009	445-7454
Farr, Sam	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 646-1980	445-8496
Felando, Gerald	R	51	Los Angeles	1514 Cabrillo Ave., Torrance 90501	(213) 320-6262	445-7906
Filante, William	R	9	Marin, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Floyd, Richard E.	D	53	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave. Gardena 90247	(213) 516-4037	445-0965
Frazee, Robert C.	R	74	San Diego, Orange	3088 Pio Pico, Suite 200 Carlsbad 92008	(619) 434-1749	445-2390
Frizzelle, Nolan	R	69	Orange	17195 Newhope Fountain Valley 92708	(714) 662-5503	445-8377
Goggin, Terry	D	66	San Bernardino	290 North D St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, Solano	844 Union Ave. Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0339	445-7442
Hauser, Dan	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma	1334 5th, Suite G Eureka 95501	(707) 443-7014	445-8360
Hayden, Tom	D	44	Los Angeles	1337 Santa Monica Mall Santa Monica 90401	(213) 393-2717	445-1676
Herger, Wally	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra, Nevada, Butte	1469 Butte House Rd., Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Hill, Frank	R	52	Los Angeles	15111 E. Whittier Blvd., #385 Whittier 90603	(213) 945-7681	445-7550
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles	3253 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles 90007	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Isenberg, Phil	D	10	Sacramento, San Joaquin, Contra Costa	1215 15th St., Suite 102 Sacramento 95814	(916) 324-4676	445-1611
Johnson, Ross	R	64	Orange	1501 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 738-5853	445-7448
Johnston, Pat	D	26	San Joaquin	31 E. Channel St. #306 Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Jones, Bill	R	32	Fresno, Tulare, Madera, Mariposa	1441 S. Mooney Blvd. Visalia 93277	(209) 734-1182	445-2931
Katz, Richard	D	39	Los Angeles	15226 Parthenia St., Sepulveda 91343	(213) 894-3671	445-1616

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Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Kelley, David	R	73	Riverside	41555 E. Florida, Hemet 92343	(714) 652-5023	445-7852
Killea, Lucy	D	78	San Diego	3248 Brant San Diego 92103	(619) 298-2673	445-7210
Klehs, Johan	D	14	Alameda	2450 Washington Ave. San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Konnyu, Ernest	R	22	Santa Clara	7337 Bollinger Rd., Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Lafollette, Marian	R	38	Los Angeles	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366
Lancaster, Bill	R	62	Los Angeles	362 E. Rowland St. Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Leonard, William	R	61	San Bernardino	1323 W. Colton Ave. Redlands 92373	(714) 798-4242	445-7552
Lewis, John R.	R	67	Orange	626 E. Chapman Ave. Orange 92666	(714) 997-9270	445-2778
Margolin, Burt M	D	45	Los Angeles	8425 W. 3rd St. Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
McAlister, Alister	D	18	Santa Clara, Alameda	554 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(408) 263-5300	445-7874
McClintock, Tom	R	36	Ventura	Paseo Camarillo, 350 N. Lantana Camarillo 93010	(805) 987-9797	445-7402
Mojonnier, Sunny	R	75	San Diego	3368 Governor Dr., Suite C University City 92122	(619) 457-5775	445-2112
Molina, Gloria	D	56	Los Angeles	5261½ E. Beverly Blvd. Los Angeles 90022	(213) 721-2904	445-1670
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles	3731 Stocker St., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800
Moorhead, Jean	D	5	Sacramento, Placer	6830 Antelope Rd. Citrus Heights 95610	(916) 969-9388	445-4445
Mountjoy, Richard	R	42	Los Angeles	406 S. 1st Ave. Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-3134	445-7234
Naylor, Robert W.	R	20	San Mateo	666 Elm St. San Carlos 94070	(415) 591-5544	445-8188
Nolan, Patrick J.	R	41	Los Angeles	143 S. Glendale Ave., Glendale 91205	(213)240-6330	445-8364
O'Connell, Jack	D	35	Santa Barbara, Ventura	Studio 127, El Paseo Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-2296	445-8292
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo,San Francisco	345-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Peace, Steve	D	80	Imperial, San Diego	430 Davidson St. Chula Vista 92010	(619) 426-1617	445-7556
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange	11400 Stanford Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Rogers, Don	R	33	Kern, Tulare	412 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498
Roos, Michael	D	46	Los Angeles	600 S. New Hampshire Ave. Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Seastrand, Eric	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1012 Mill St. San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Sebastiani, Don	R	8	Napa, Lake, Sonoma Yolo	800 Broadway, Sonoma 95476	(707) 996-2792	445-8102
Sher, Byron	D	21	Santa Clara, San Mateo	2121 Palomar Airport Rd. Carlsbad 92008	(619) 438-3814	445-7632
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	429 Red Cliff Dr. Redding 96002	(916) 223-6300	445-7266
Stirling, Larry	R	77	San Diego	7051 Alvarado Rd., La Mesa 92041	(714) 237-7970	445-6161
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles	11100 Valley Blvd.,Suite 106, El Monte 91731	(213) 442-9100	445-7783
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara	649 Thornton, Rm. 10 San Jose 95128	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles	16600 Civic Center Dr. Bellflower 90706	(213) 804-1436	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Placer Tuolumne, Sacramento	250 Main St. Placerville 95667	(916) 626-4954	445-8343
Wright, Cathie	R	37	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	250 E. Easy St. Simi Valley 93065	(805) 522-2920	445-7676
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, Kern, San Bernardino	5405 Stockdale Hwy. #112 Bakersfield 93309	(805) 395-2673	445-3266
Young, Bruce E	D	63	Los Angeles	13710 Studebaker Rd. Norwalk 90650	(213) 929-1796	445-6047

*During legislative session, mail for Assembly members may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento, 95814.

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Legislative leadership

Senate

President: Lieutenant Governor Leo T. McCarthy (D)
President pro Tempore: David Roberti (D)
Majority Floor Leader: John Garamendi (D)
Minority Floor Leader: William Campbell (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: Paul Carpenter
Republican Caucus Chairman: Ken Maddy

Assembly

Speaker: Willie L. Brown Jr. (D)
Speaker pro Tempore: Frank Vicencia (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Mike Roos (D)
Minority Floor Leader: Robert Naylor (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: Richard Robinson
Republican Caucus Chairman: Richard Mountjoy

Types of Legislation

- **Bills** propose changes in or additions to state law. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills," actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal*, and they take effect on their adoption.

PUBLIC RESPONSE ASSOCIATES' MONTHLY SURVEY

A cost-shared, statewide telephone survey of 1,000 registered voters every month

CLOSING DATE FOR QUESTIONS: First of month

TELEPHONE INTERVIEWING BEGINS: Mid-month

DATA AVAILABLE: End of month

For sample specifications, prices, exact dates and information, call: (415) 771-2525

820 North Point San Francisco, CA 94109

Advertisement

Senate committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Finance	4203	1:30 p.m.
Public Employment and Retirement*	2040	1:30 p.m.
Business and Professions**	3191	1:30 p.m.
Tuesday		
Agriculture and Water Resources*	112	9:30 a.m.
Constitutional Amendments**	112	9:30 a.m.
Governmental Organization	3191	9:30 a.m.
Natural Resources and Wildlife**	4203	9:30 a.m.
Housing and Urban Affairs	2040	9:30 a.m.
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Transportation*	112	1:30 p.m.
Energy and Public Utilities**	2040	1:30 p.m.
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Local Government	112	9:30 a.m.
Elections and Reapportionment*	3191	9:30 a.m.
Industrial Relations**	2040	9:30 a.m.
Health and Welfare	4203	1:30 p.m.
Rules	113	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and Taxation*	2040	1:30 p.m.
Banking and Commerce**	3191	1:30 p.m.
Insurance and Indemnity*	112	1:30 p.m.

Committees meet every week unless indicated otherwise.
*Meets first and third weeks of month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of month.

Assembly committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Revenue and Taxation	4202	1:30 p.m.
Judiciary	126	1:30 p.m.
Water, Parks and Wildlife*	437	1:30 p.m.
Rules	3162	3:00 p.m.
Utilities and Commerce*	444	4:00 p.m.
Aging and Long Term Care**	444	4:00 p.m.
Housing and Community Development**	437	4:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Elections and Reapportionment**	437	9:00 a.m.
Transportation	4202	9:00 a.m.
Human Services**	126	9:00 a.m.
Education	444	10:00 a.m.
Health	437	1:30 p.m.
Finance and Insurance	4202	1:30 p.m.
Natural Resources	444	1:30 p.m.
Consumer Protection and Toxic Materials**	447	1:30 p.m.
Economic Development and New Technologies*	126	3:30 p.m.
Labor and Employment**	126	4:00 p.m.
Wednesday		
Ways and Means	4202	8:00 a.m.
Criminal Law and Public Safety	126	1:30 p.m.
Public Employees and Retirement**	437	1:30 p.m.
Agriculture*	437	1:30 p.m.
Local Government**	127	1:30 p.m.
Rules	3162	3:00 p.m.
Governmental Organization	444	3:30 p.m.

Committees meet every week except as noted.
*Meets first and third weeks of month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of month.

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SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

Agriculture and Water Resources (7D, 4R):
Ayala (D) Chair; Mello (D) Vice Chair; Craven (R); Doolittle (R); Johnson (R); McCorquodale (D); Montoya (D); Nielsen (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Vuich (D).

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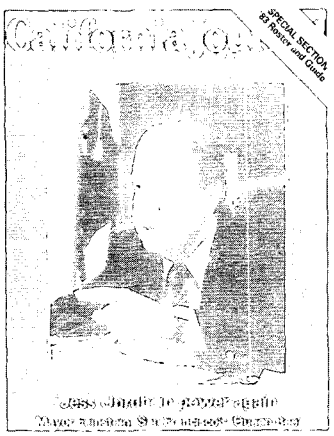

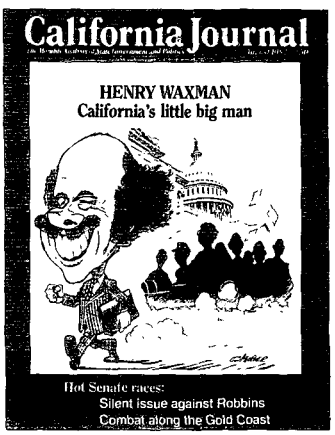

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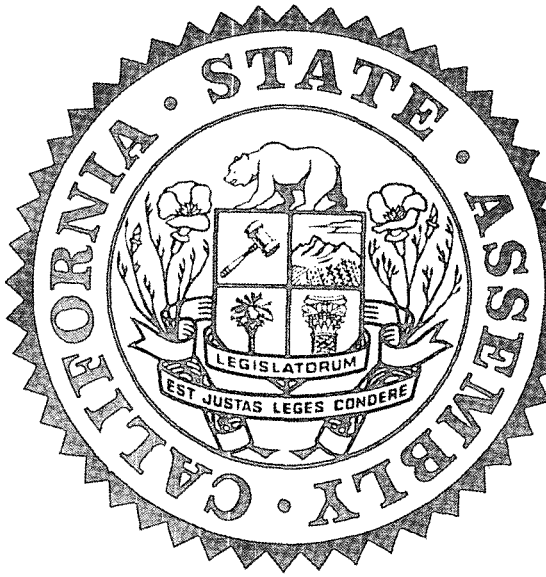

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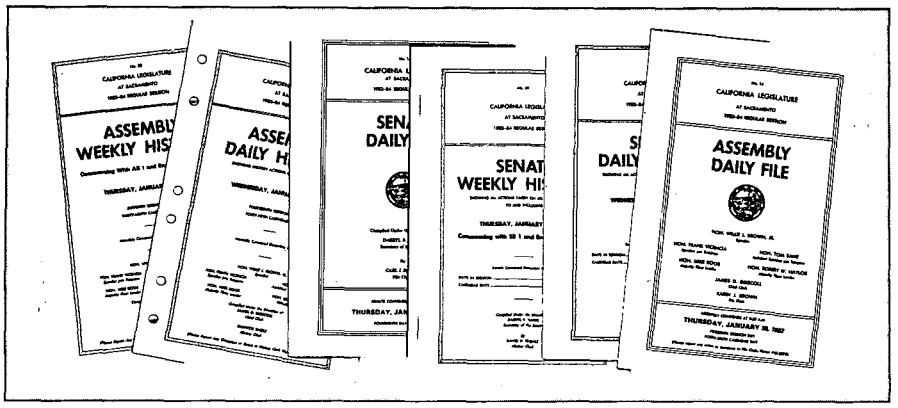

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories.* Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature,* by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgement of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal.*

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

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California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action, hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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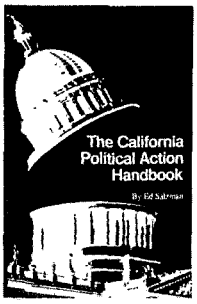

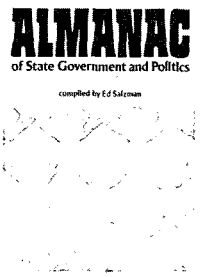

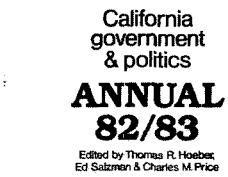

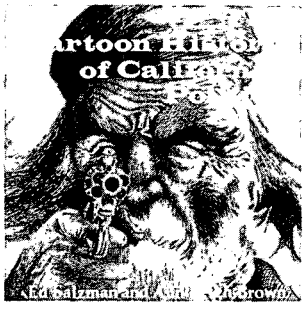

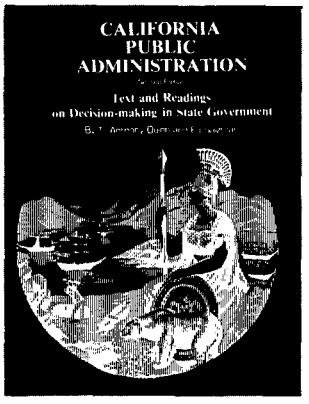

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The political metamorphosis of San Francisco's Mayor Feinstein

By MARSHALL KILDUFF

In a crowded, shadowy hallway in San Francisco's City Hall, a pale woman stepped out of the mayor's office to announce the shocking news. Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk were both dead from gunshots fired by former supervisor Dan White.

People gasped, and TV camera lights splashed off walls while everyone peered at the calm, composed speaker, Dianne Feinstein. She was an also-ran in two prior mayoral races and a prim, wealthy woman with a reputation as a political moderate on the Board of Supervisors.

PHOTO BY ROGER RESSMEYER

But in a few hours on that day in late November of 1978, she became an instant international celebrity. She turned out to be more than just an accidental leader thrown into the breach. She had heard the muffled shots that killed Milk while she sat working in her office a few paces from his. She was the first person to find his lifeless body and, instinctively, she bent over and felt for his pulse. "I don't know anyone else at City Hall who could have handled the situation — first Harvey and then George — but Dianne managed to do it superbly," said a woman on the scene that day.

Because Feinstein was then board president, she became the acting mayor immediately, and a week later she was voted interim mayor. In 1979 she won a four-year term of her own. Presently she is the odds-on favorite to win a second term in the regular election this fall, provided she survives an unexpected recall effort that could force an earlier test in April.

The recall results from Feinstein's successful drive last year to push through a gun-control ordinance, an action that incensed the White Panthers, a small communal group. Although the ordinance was immediately tied up in court, the Panthers collected 35,000 recall petition signatures. If 19,357 are registered voters, the election is on. Feinstein, who has denounced the group, should win.

Despite the problem, Feinstein remains a sturdy political presence in the city. A bland speaker before, she has become a reassuring communicator, the perfect counter to San Francisco's Kook City image. She administers well, the city has a surplus and business is good. If she wins easily this year, her political stock will soar.

Before the killings in 1978, it seemed Feinstein would languish as a good-government moderate, marking time in the backwaters of San Francisco politics. Because of her third place finish in two mayoral races, she was ridiculed as a centrist with no real political army or base. "Her support was a mile wide and an inch deep," the old phrase goes.

Or as Feinstein frankly puts it: "I have a particular view. I am often criticized for it. But I believe it's the right way to run a diverse, progressive city. I try to do so from the center of the political spectrum."

There can be a touch of naiveté about her, as though she doesn't really accept the rules of real-world politics. After one trouncing at the hands of Joe Alioto, she pleaded to be reappointed to a regional government board. "Dianne, you don't bring a loser's ticket to a winner's window," Alioto told her.

In her early days as a supervisor she chose some goofy issues, like a proposal to have restaurants disclose to diners whether the food was frozen or fresh. She also tried to eradicate billboards and do away with pornography shops, campaigns that earned her the label of "Goody Two Shoes."

But she was also the first supervisor to hire a gay aide. She became an enthusiastic booster of the police. She delved into a long-stalled convention center and played a major role in working out a settlement that allowed the hall to be built.

Since becoming mayor, she has underscored her reputation as a hard worker with a prodigious appetite for details, facts and figures. She is cautious by nature, "a damage control expert," according to one observer, "but not a risk taker like some mayors." One football fan-politico explains, "She'd kick on fourth and short with a three touchdown lead." She is generally fair-minded and willing to listen to a cross-section of viewpoints in an unfamiliar situation, admirers say. But critics say this trait leads her to endless fretting. Her latest dilemma was whether or not to veto the proposed "live-in lovers" law that would have given gay city employees the right to sign up lovers for health benefits. She met with dozens of eager advice-givers in her office and

Marshall Kilduff is a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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home, even calling in her campaign manager, before she finally vetoed the measure. "She probably had diarrhea all week," scoffs a Feinstein critic.

With the mayor, free time or laxness are high crimes, not misdemeanors. Feinstein has called in aides to work on Christmas Day. When she remarried, she turned her Italian honeymoon into a tour to drum up trade. After hearing that commission members were nibbling snacks and showing up tieless at public hearings, she called in the commission chiefs and upbraided them for failing to mind their manners. Feinstein would be the last person in city hall to hear a John De Lorean or herpes joke. She probably wouldn't understand half the jokes during a Johnny Carson monologue, if she ever stayed up that late.

This starchy style does not come from a sheltered life. Her eventful childhood reads like a soap opera script. She was raised in a Pacific Heights mansion by a Jewish father and Catholic mother. After attending the Convent of the Sacred Heart, the ritziest of the town's Catholic girls' high schools, she chose Judaism as her faith. An uncle nursed her political inclinations by taking her to city hall and kibitzing on the antics of city leaders, whom he called the "Board of Stupidvisors."

Mental illness clouded her mother's mind, making family life an unbearable strain. Dianne essentially raised her two sisters. When her mother's health swung into wider arcs of rage and depression, the only quiet place Dianne could find to study for high school exams was in the family car parked outside the house.

Feinstein graduated from Stanford and then entered government via a series of jobs with state agencies, most prominently a term on the Women's Board of Terms and Parole, to which she was named by Governor Pat Brown. This job, and later appointments to other law enforcement commissions, prompted her career-long fascination with police and hardline crime-stopping. Recently she posed for a magazine photographer while wearing her own blue police jumpsuit and sitting on the edge of her City Hall desk. She has even worn a blond wig on occasion to visit the run-down Tenderloin district with undercover police.

In 1970, running as an outsider in her first try at elective office, she finished first among a pack of candidates for the San Francisco board and won re-election two more times before becoming mayor. Although she became a minor fixture of city political life, Feinstein never chose to be a Democratic party stalwart. The old boys never liked her, and she never felt at home with them either. Her two flops at running for mayor in 1971 and 1975 only underscored the differences, with the party apparatus generally supporting her rivals.

"Dianne's problem is that she has no fundamental ideology," says one politician. "A successful politician has to operate from a base, and she is struggling to find one. San Francisco responds to an ideology, either from the left or the right, and you have to reach out and be one or the other. She's ended up as a female Dwight D. Eisenhower, " he says.

Convincing the doubters

But there's nothing like success to win over the doubters. All of the local Democratic bigshots — Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, Congressman Phil Burton, Assemblyman Art Agnos — have lined up as early endorsers for this fall's run.

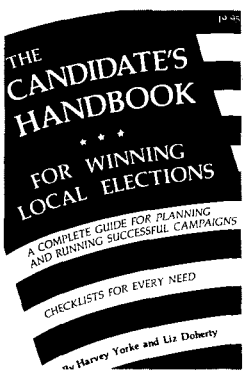
Feinstein wants to pile up a war chest early and hopes to have $300,000 in the bank by the end of February. She has hired Clint Reilly, an aggressive, clever image-molder, who masterminded Bill Honig's upset of state Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles and also managed San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp, the conservative Democrat who nearly dumped Feinstein in 1979.

Here are some broad categories for judging Feinstein:

- **Administrator.** By all accounts, Feinstein is considered one of the best administrators to hold the office. The flamboyant Joe Alioto and charming George Moscone, who preceded Feinstein, ignored the day-to-day duties of the office, the same tasks that Feinstein immerses herself in. She refers to herself as a "hands-on" mayor, a person who wants to know everything from federal grant technicalities to the wording of press releases.

She set up private industry-style management training courses to pep up civil service bureaucrats and political appointees. Her staff has installed a complicated computer system to measure performance, often over the protests of old-school department types.

- **Style.** Compared to her flashier predecessors, Feinstein appears dowdy and stiff. Her huge appetite for deskwork leaves her little time to prowl the town or work up the common touch. The nicknames for her play on her work habits and obliviousness to personal feelings: Attila the Hen, Queen Bee, Lady Di. Although hardly a spellbinding orator on a par with Willie Brown, she has managed to



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cut down that old Feinstein bafflegab vocabulary that relied on "viable" and "do-able."

But when duty calls, she never fails to respond, and often with personal courage and initiative. "This town owes her a tremendous debt for what she did during the Moscone-Milk deaths," an associate says. "Nobody else could have done it without cracking." The mayor also once stopped her car, jumped out and tried to revive a heart-attack victim through mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

Feinstein fans get testy at the carping about the mayor's image. "Some recent mayors had a lot of style but really didn't do much of a job," says Claire Pilcher, a Feinstein loyalist who runs a city appeals board. "No one cared about management or civil service until she came along," according to Pilcher.

• **Instincts.** Feinstein's principles often clash with smart politics. Two recent examples are her stands on gun control and gay rights. Feinstein lobbied the gun control ordinance at the same time last year that a more moderate state measure was being clobbered by voters. Although gun control is popular in San Francisco, and she might not have expected a recall, she knew she was asking for trouble. If nothing else, the powerful gun lobby is sure to tag her as a bad guy if she ever runs for higher office.

"She can be very gutsy and strong," says Tom Saunders, a Pacific Gas and Electric consultant who has worked on Democratic campaigns. "The gun control issue doesn't offer her much except a lot of trouble from some very organized people."

On gay rights, her decision on the "live-in lovers" bill brought down the wrath of many homosexual leaders. The gay community in San Francisco is a not-so-small minority group variously estimated at a tenth to a fifth of the city. After a week of deliberating, Feinstein vetoed the measure, saying it attempted to equate common-law relationships with marriage.

"That took a lot of nerve in San Francisco, though I'm sure that may be hard to believe for anyone who doesn't live here," Saunders says.

Some cynics say her move pleased conservatives and left unhappy liberals with no other candidate to support, making the veto smart politics after all.

• **Taxes and spending.** Once again, the mayor shows her moderate stripes here. She's a spender, critics say. But she is very prudent about it, supporters argue.

The budget has grown continually under her reign. She has won voter support for raises in the hotel and business taxes; lots of city services, from building permits to library cards, cost more. She wanted a special levy on downtown commercial property to raise money for the Municipal Railway but shelved the plan amid a hail of criticism from property owners. Bus fares were 25 cents when she took office; now they are 60 cents, with another raise likely after election year.

Yet the city is probably in better financial shape than ever. It has a $150 million surplus, unheard of for a major American city. Feinstein has refused to reduce taxes except for a rollback of a utility tax, saying that most of the surplus will be needed next year. The rest of it will go for bread-and-butter services, such as more Municipal Railway buses and road repairs, not for expanded social programs as some liberals want. Even though pressure is building on whether to build a new sports stadium, Feinstein has generally avoided show-off projects that a more egotistical soul might push.

• **Appointments.** Among city commissions and boards, Feinstein insists on loyalty among appointees and leans heavily on credentialed, experienced types. Alioto was faulted for hiring family and political cronies. Moscone surprised everyone by his wide-ranging picks, who often quarreled among themselves — to the mayor's embarrassment. Feinstein has courted blacks by naming representatives to nearly every major board. But gays complain she has welched on a promise to do the same for their community.

She was careful to pick a new police and fire chief from the ranks of the two departments. But she went to Chicago to find a new manager for the Muni Railway, a smart move that echoed the public's feeling that a real pro was needed, not just the next hack in line.

• **"Empathy factor."** Feinstein may never escape the label of "Pacific Heights matron," try as she will. "I don't think she knows what it means to buy groceries or drive a car," says one person who generally admires her. A gay journalist puts it another way: "She knows that there are people who are different from her, but she can't understand that they may not want to be like her — comfortable and successful."

Her advisers are wrestling with what one of them calls the "empathy factor." She recently sent out a political leaflet to homeowners, emphasizing her accomplishments. It was a glossy eight-page effort extolling the city's finances, transit improvements, senior citizen programs and the like. But it also carried a cover photograph of her surrounded by black, Asian and white school children, walking across a park lawn before a postcard-pretty row of Victorians — an obvious effort to melt down her super-serious image. She also organized an unprecedented assault on slumlord code violations after newspaper reports described unheated rooms in cheap Tenderloin hotels.

• **Gays.** This group is powerful, wealthy, integrated into all levels of city life — and nothing but trouble for San Francisco politicians. Nobody knows this better than Feinstein. She complains that the louder left-liberal leaders such as Supervisor Harry Britt do not represent mainstream gays and suggests her moderate policies satisfy most homosexuals.

But she can't resist needling her gay critics in ways that get her nothing but bad publicity in gay publications. When a city report on street violence was completed, Feinstein tacked on her own observations that gays did not appear to be singled out for beatings, as some had complained.

• **Future.** Feinstein professes that "all I've ever wanted to be is the best mayor this city ever had." Her advisers swear that she hardly ever talks about running for another office. But she is eagerly courting Democratic Party officials to hold the national convention in San Francisco in 1984, as good a place as any to look for a new job. And no political career, especially Feinstein's, is placid or easy to predict.

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Starting lineup on the Duke's team

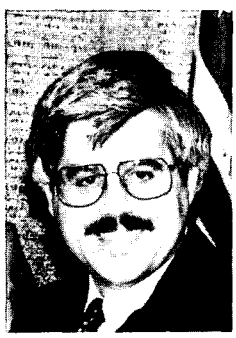
Here are some of the names and faces of key players in the new Deukmejian team:

CABINET MEMBERS

• **Steven A. Merksamer,** executive secretary and chief of staff. The closest adviser to Governor Deukmejian, the 35-year-old Sacramento attorney will be the major link between the governor and the entire executive branch. He was a special assistant attorney general under Deukmejian.

• **Michael Franchetti,** state director of finance. Formerly Deukmejian's No. 1 deputy in the attorney general's office, Franchetti, 39, directed preparation of the 1983-84 budget. He will be a key adviser and spokesman as the new administration seeks to deal with the state's fiscal headaches.

• **David B. Swoap,** secretary of health and welfare. An 18-year veteran of state and federal government service, Swoap, 45, was undersecretary of Health and Human Services in Washington when tapped by Deukmejian. In the Reagan years in Sacramento, Swoap was director of the State Department of Benefit Payments (1974-75) and director of the Department of Social Welfare (1973-74).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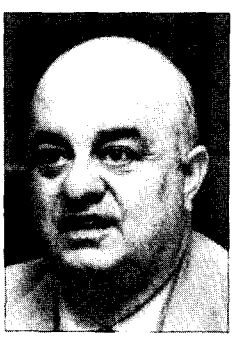
CHADERJIAN

• **Shirley R. Chilton,** secretary of state and consumer services. President of the California Chamber of Commerce, Chilton, 59, has been president of a Los Angeles-based financial and real estate investment consulting firm, Clavis Corporation. Her state agency oversees fair employment and housing, veterans' affairs, retirement systems and general services, among others. Chilton was the first major appointee of a woman in the new administration.

• **Gordon K. Van Vleck,** secretary of resources. A cattle rancher and businessman from Plymouth, Van Vleck, 62, is another past president of the state Chamber (1979). His agency oversees the department of water resources, fish and game, parks and recreation, conservation and forestry.

• **N.A. (Chad) Chaderjian,** secretary of the Youth and Adult Corrections Agency. A former Fresno County probation official, Chaderjian, 55, was a Governor Brown appointee to the Board of Prison Terms in 1976. He will oversee the Youth Authority, Board of Corrections and prison-term and parole boards.

• **Gordon Duffy,** secretary of environmental affairs and chairman of the Air Resources Board. A former Republican assemblyman from the San Joaquin Valley, Duffy, 58, ran unsuccessfully last year for secretary of state. He will be Deukmejian's chief adviser on environmental and air pollution problems.

• **Victor V. Veysey,** director of industrial relations. Another former GOP assemblyman, Veysey, 68, is director of Caltech's industrial relations center in Pasadena. In overseeing a department dealing with labor-management relations, Veysey takes a position normally held by a labor representative.

• **Kirk West,** secretary of Business, Transportation and Housing. The executive vice president of California Taxpayers' Association, West, 46, was deputy director of Finance under Caspar Weinberger and Verne Orr during the Reagan state administration. He also was a chief deputy for Controller Houston Flournoy. His agency oversees departments of transportation, real estate, insurance, corporations and motor vehicles, among others.

• **Clare L. Berryhill,** director of Food and Agriculture. A former assemblyman and senator, Berryhill has served as lobbyist for wine grape growers and other agricultural interests since resigning from the Senate in 1976. A rancher and lifelong resident of Stanislaus County, Berryhill, 57, was director of the California Raisin Advisory Board and Farm Home Administration Board.

APPOINTEES, ADVISERS AND AIDES

• **Jesse R. Huff,** deputy director of finance. A veteran legislative staff member and Senate minority finance consultant since 1979, Huff, 39, will work with Franchetti, especially in dealings with the Legislature.

• **Kenneth L. Khachigian,** special consultant. A former White House deputy to Richard Nixon and speech writer for President Reagan, Khachigian will write for and advise Governor Deukmejian from his San Clemente home.

• **Sal Russo,** deputy executive secretary. Former president of Russo Watts and Associates of Sacramento, Russo, 36, will assist Chief of Staff Merksamer. The Russo Watts firm managed the last weeks of the Deukmejian general-election campaign. Russo was a special assistant to Governor Reagan from 1967 to 1969.

• **Doug Watts,** director of the Office of Public Affairs. In this position, Watts, 32, will oversee speechwriting, scheduling and research activities in the governor's office. He worked for Congressman Del Clawson and Assemblyman Doug Carter before joining the Assembly Minority Caucus and, in 1976, the consulting firm of Russo Watts.

• **Rodney J. Blonien,** legislative secretary. An assistant legal affairs secretary to Governor Reagan, Blonien, 36, also was a senior counsel and policy adviser to Attorney General Deukmejian. Working with Blonien will be **Vance Raye,** deputy legislative

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DUFFY

WEST

BERRYHILL

VEYSEY

FRANCHETTI

SWOAP

secretary, and **Maureen Higgins,** assistant legislative secretary.

• **Willard A. Shank,** commanding general of the military department. A 25-year veteran, Brigadier General Shank, 61, is a former senior assistant attorney general and assistant adjutant general of the California National Guard.

• **Lawrence L. Thomas,** press secretary. A former political writer for the *San Diego Union,* Thomas, 35, has been public relations manager for the Bechtel Corporation for the past four years.

• **Kevin M. Brett,** assistant press secretary. Press director during the campaign and post-election transition, Brett, 27, worked on papers in Glendale and Burbank before joining Deukmejian last year.

• **Arthur G. Scotland,** cabinet secretary. A Sacramento native, Scotland, 36, will prepare cabinet agendas and minutes and serve as liaison for cabinet members with the governor and chief of staff.

• **John J. Norton,** State Police chief. President of the California Police Chiefs Association and police chief of Foster City, Norton, 45, was an outspoken proponent of the gun-control initiative on November's ballot.

• **William J. (Tony) Anthony,** director of the Department of General Services. A 32-year veteran of the Los Angeles sheriff's department, Anthony, 60, will direct the agency which manages state buildings, communications and equipment purchases.

• **James W. Robinson,** staff assistant for research. A speechwriter and media director for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, Robinson also wrote radio scripts and newspaper columns for Ronald Reagan from 1978-80 while working for Deaver & Hannaford of Los Angeles. He will work in the Office of Public Affairs under Watts.

• **Suzanne L. Glad,** scheduling secretary. A La Canada resident, Glad was scheduling director for Deukmejian's primary and general-election campaigns. She did the same job for former Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch in his unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate in 1976.

• **Gil Avila,** special assistant. A 46-year-old East Los Angeles native, Avila will advise on policy and appointments. He served as Attorney General Deukmejian's Hispanic liaison after four years on the Commission on the Californias.

• **David M. Caffrey,** administrative officer. An eight-year veteran of the state Department of Justice, Caffrey, 34, was chief of administration for the past two years. He will monitor fiscal, personnel and general administrative matters and direct correspondence processing.

• **Marvin Baxter,** appointments secretary. A Fresno attorney active in the Armenian community, Baxter, 43, was a deputy district attorney before entering private practice in 1971. He directed Deukmejian's campaign committee in Fresno County.

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

'The *National Enquirer*'

Your piece on the firing of Thomas Willoughby (Up Front, *CJ*, January 1983) was needlessly alarmist, inaccurate and a backhanded swipe at the reputations of two fine legislative staffers.

In that article, *California Journal* alleges that Willoughby was replaced by me as a consultant to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee as part of some new legislative policy to end "the 20-year-old practice' of keeping policy committee staff "independent, non-partisan and expert."

What you fail to mention is that Mr. Willoughby and another consultant to this committee were replaced by former Energy Commissioner Emilio Varanini, who held Willoughby's job before Willoughby, and Bill Grow, former deputy director of the Air Resources Board and principal consultant on the legislative analyst's staff. I submit that you would be hard put to question the independence, non-partisanship and expertise of these gentlemen.

verify the widely perceived slide of *California Journal* into becoming the *National Enquirer* of state government. One notices more and more juicy but inaccurate gossip, omissions and looseness with the facts, and a smug self-importance that inhibits the critical self-examination necessary to fine reportage. Perhaps you should re-examine your masthead claim to non-partisan, non-ideological analysis.

TERRY GOGGIN
Assemblyman, 66th District

Better and cheaper

The state budget deficit is a great opportunity. Now the legislators can break old habits of dumping money out to special interest groups. I consider public education as one such special interest group. Could it be that private education can provide better education — at lower cost — than public education? I think so.

Now is the time to experiment with a voucher system, partially reimbursing parents who send children to private schools. Given the horrendous costs of public education, a voucher system could actually be cheaper. We must try. The deficit does not allow us to go on as before.

MARK TERRY,
Oakland

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ADVICE FROM B.T.: DON'T FORGET TO LAUGH

A memo for the new chief of staff

B. T. Collins has departed the state Capitol along with his boss, Jerry Brown. But before he left, Brown's popular chief of staff reflected a bit on his experiences and offered some advice for Steve Merksamer, chief of staff for Governor George Deukmejian. Following are edited excerpts from a closing day's interview.

Q. When did you become chief of staff?
A. October 7th, 1981.
Q. The governor came to you and asked you to do it?
A. Yeah. First he sends his minions, Barzaghi and Lucie (staff aides Jacques Barzaghi and Lucie Gikovich). Nobody ever does anything up front around here.
Q. When you say there's nobody else to do it, why did you think that?
A. Well, I don't think anybody wants to be chief of staff in the last year.
Q. Why would that be?
A. Well, because everybody's leaving, everybody is pretty set in their ways.

(At this point, Collins began praising the loyalty of his staff, describing how staff aides rallied around and baked him a cake after a Los Angeles Times *story about him on November 1st, 1981. With* Times *reporter Bella Stumbo as his companion, Collins conducted one of his regular after-work bar-hopping tours, freely discussing the governor in humorous but outrageously belittling terms, many of which would appear in print.)*

Q. What was on the cake?
A. What was on the cake was . . . I walk in and I just didn't want to face these people. Here I've told them everything you do reflects on the governor's office . . . So Richard (Steffen, press secretary) said, "You got to go and face the troops." So I walk in there and they got this cake and it's me, sitting at a bar and my foot is in my mouth, and the detail was just incredible. And they all — I almost burst into tears . . .

On Merksamer, his successor:

I think he's going to be fine. Every once in a while I write notes to him. I leave them for him.
Q. What notes?
A. Oh, to make sure you get out of the office and walk around and see the people.
Q. You're going to tell him to do that?
A. Yes. And not to forget the clericals. They're the most important people.
Q. Why is that?
A. Well, I learned that when I worked in the Legislature. (Collins had been a lobbyist for the administration.) The people who helped me out the most were the secretaries and the elevator operators, the garage attendants. The garage attendant can tell me who is in the building . . . I mean, it's the old story. You walk into a legislator's office; there's five lobbyists, two constituents and he has a secretary. All right, it's a horrible day; it's Monday. The session is about ready to start and you got to see this guy. Now, who determines whether you see that guy? The secretary. She can either say, "B. T., he's just too busy," or she, on her own, can go in and say, 'Senator, B. T. just needs to see you for a second.' Who can tell you where the votes are on a committee? The committee secretaries.
Q. What other notes have you left for Merksamer?
A. The first thing I wrote him is don't lose your sense of humor. It's just not that important. No matter how tough things get. Keep up a good face for your troops. The most important thing, like (former Finance Director) Dick Silberman used to say: "If we can't have fun in this business, we don't belong here."
Q. Do you think Merksamer will have that same attitude toward fun that you have?
A. No, no . . . Nobody should be that irresponsible. I come from a different perspective. Vietnam taught me what was important. I'm not going to take anything seriously after that. I took the CCC seriously; I took this job seriously — but you shouldn't take yourself seriously.
Q. But that doesn't go with the way you reacted to the Bella Stumbo piece in the *Times*.
A. The way I reacted to that, maybe I was a little immature, but I felt that I had unwittingly blind-sided my boss. I had hurt him unnecessarily. As it turned out, it didn't hurt a thing. If it was an attack on me, fine. But he was totally blind-sided.
Q. Now that it's in the past, how do you feel about that now?
A. Well, I wouldn't do it again — but, you know, it's funny. It's when you're down that you find out who your real friends are. I must have gotten 50 handwritten letters from supporters.
Q. Did it teach you anything?
A. Oh, probably to keep my big mouth shut.
Q. What's been the reaction over time from the Governor on that?
A. Oh, he kids me about it. He needles me. He wouldn't let me quit.
Q. Have you left Merksamer any other notes on how to handle things? Get out and walk around, you said, and don't forget to relax and don't forget to laugh. What else?
A. Oh, I think he should be fair. I think he should be consistent. No matter which one on the staff you like the best, you have to be fair.
Q. Did you leave him a note to that effect?
A. Yeah, I have them in here: "Don't lose your sense of humor. Be fair, consistent and you'll never get accused of playing favorites. The Duke comes first, then your wife, then you. From this day on he is, quote, 'The Governor,' even in third-party conversations. Your staff will pick up on that; you can't refer to him as George. I never referred to the governor in my whole life as anything but 'the Governor' — or 'the Prince,' but I do that jocularly. The little things count. Have a sympathetic ear. Hellos . . . Remember the secretary's birthday. Handwritten notes, not dictated. Funerals, wedding anniversaries. And when things get tough, don't take it out on your staff.
Q. What are you going to do?
A. I don't know. I'll spend a month looking.
Q. Why did you take the PUC?
(Brown appointed Collins to the Public Utilities Commission, but the Senate failed to approve before the new governor arrived and Deukmejian withdrew the appointment.)
A. Because when you sign on, you sign on for the whole nine yards. This guy (Brown) — it's a bottomless pit. I'll be 75 years old and be called up and he'll say, "I got this little job for you." "But Governor, I'm on a respirator." "Well, how soon can you make it out here?" Hey, I owe him. Without him, I'd be nobody.

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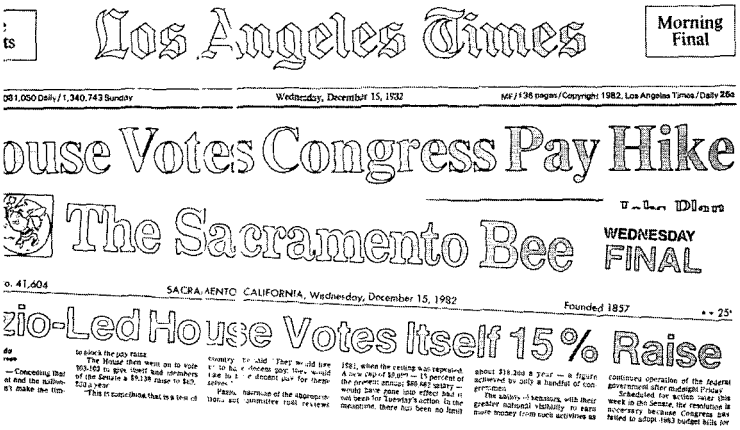
Vic Fazio's thankless task — pushing that congressional pay hike



Los Angeles Times — Morning Final

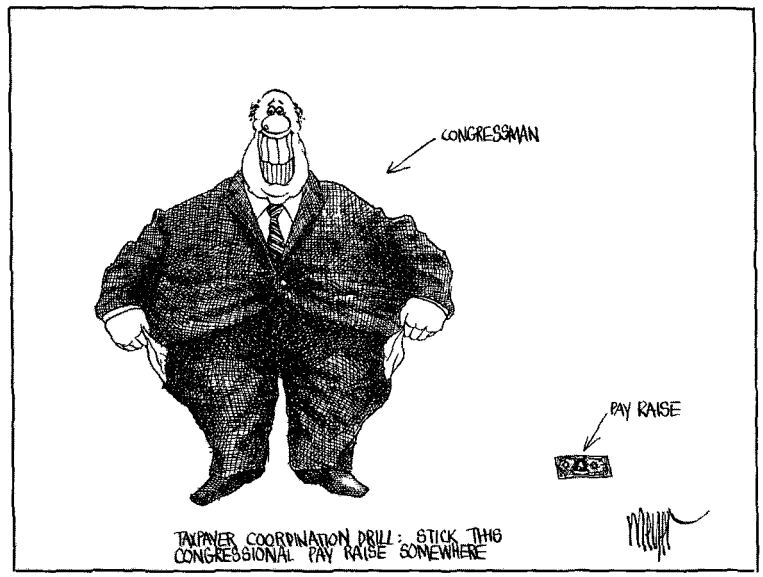
Wednesday, December 15, 1982

ouse Votes Congress Pay Hike

The Sacramento Bee — WEDNESDAY FINAL

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, Wednesday, December 15, 1982 — Founded 1857

zio-Led House Votes Itself 15% Raise



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By OTTO KREISHER

When your take-home pay is $2,800 a month and your house and utilities cost $2,000, you think seriously of seeking a raise. Which is not to say that Sacramento Congressman Vic Fazio carried that pay-raise bill only to help himself. After all, as chairman of the House subcommittee on legislative issues, the 40-year-old Democrat is supposed to do such things. But with money problems such as those, it's easier to answer duty's call.

Fazio, of course, became a mini-celebrity (he appeared on the Today show and was big in the Sacramento media) for carrying the bill in December that raised congressional salaries by 15 percent, from $60,662 to $69,800 a year. "My district office staff really loves me when I do things like this. They took one abusive call after another," he says.

The angry phone calls and letters have dropped off, but Fazio, now starting his third term in Washington, can't be faulted for wondering about the potential political fallout. Pushing a congressional pay raise may endear him to his peers, but with many voters back home, it's what he calls "one of the all-time losers of political issues." He can anticipate that the pay raise will become a heated issue in his next re-election campaign, just as it was last year even though Fazio's earlier push for a pay raise failed.

Because of the political heat that focuses on the pay-raise issue, Fazio says it would be better for Congress if it were handled by some other body. "I'd trust the job to anyone," he says. "If I could sit down and bargain with our constituents, I know we could get more pay than we do now."

Otto Kreisher is a Washington correspondent for Copley News Service, specializing in California coverage.

Fazio and other members of Congress — including many of those who vote against pay raises — say there are many arguments in favor of higher pay. They range from comparability — giving them pay equal to that given executives handling similar duties in private enterprise — to necessity. Washington, D.C., they point out, is one of the most expensive places to live in the United States, ranking consistently among the top three or four metropolitan areas in cost of housing and other necessities.

The transition for a newly elected member of Congress can be shocking, Fazio says. When he made the move from the California Assembly to Congress, his pay doubled. But, he complained, so did his expenses.

"I sold a home with a 7 percent (interest rate) loan, with payments of $260 a month, $320 counting (property) taxes," he says. To get a slightly larger home in the Washington suburbs with a 10 percent mortgage, he says he ended up paying $1,200 a month. With taxes and utilities that came to $2,000 a month.

And after his first marriage broke up, Fazio says he was paying $475 a month for a one-bedroom basement apartment in Washington.

'Demagoguing the issue'

But as seems evident from the uproar following the pay raise vote in December, neither Fazio's money problems nor those of other members of Congress is likely to generate widespread sympathy. To many members of the public, the action was clear: A group of politicians that is already doing well voted itself the means to do even better, and in the midst of a major recession, no less. Fazio conceded that congressional salaries have always been considered high, in the top 10 percent of all wages. "In some areas of the country," he says, "I'm sure it seems outlandish."

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But he notes, "Most people don't understand the 50 percent tax bracket" that congressional pay is subjected to. "They don't understand how much is taxed away. I have no (tax) shelters, no property that is being depreciated," he says. "I think that is true of most members."

There are members with substantial personal wealth to whom congressional pay is not a problem. And it is those members, plus those with shaky re-election prospects, who refuse to vote for pay raises and, in Fazio's words, "demagogue the issue."

One example he cites is Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado. Her husband is a successful attorney, and she has argued so strongly against every pay raise that no member of the Colorado delegation voted for the last one. (In response to that criticism, Schroeder said through her staff that she "hasn't seen any of those guys selling apples on the street corner.")

Another example is Congressman Glenn Anderson of Harbor City, the only California Democrat to vote against the last pay raise. Anderson not only has comfortable personal wealth but he draws a $32,024 annual pension from the state of California for his service in the Legislature and as lieutenant governor.

After voting against the pay raise, Anderson said in a statement he considered a congressional pay hike "unconscionable" because of "the difficulty people were having making ends meet" in his district. Anderson conceded the high cost of living in Washington, but added, "These so-called disadvantages did not prevent a majority of the members of the House of Representatives from running for re-election and a large number of hopefuls challenging incumbents for these positions."

Ironically, Anderson's aides say he received only a "very minimal" reaction from his constituents for voting against a pay raise and even got some callers in the district office who condemned him for voting *for* the pay hike.

Attracting conservatives

Fazio concedes that there are "honors" and challenges to serving in Congress that cannot be measured by pay scales. "That's why you don't have people leaving because of the pay," he says.

But there are other issues that go into the question of an adequate pay, Fazio and others say. Republican Congressman Robert Dornan of Marina Del Rey, who is leaving Congress after his unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate, cast the decisive vote killing an effort to continue the freeze on congressional pay. An arch-conservative, Dornan said he got a few irate calls from constituents but answered them by arguing that because of the low level of pay, Congress has not been attracting talented and conservative minorities and women.

"A conservative black, particularly one with a background in economics, is so desired by industry that they pay them double what they'd get here," Dornan says. "So you'll never get conservative blacks, or conservative women" in Congress.

Dornan also argues that the pay scale dictates against most business people or professionals, aside from lawyers, entering Congress before they are near retirement age, because they cannot afford the interruption in their careers. Lawyers, however, actually gain from congressional experience and can easily resume their careers, he says.

Fazio also cites the problems with members of Congress who have to go outside to boost their income. The Senate turned down the pay raise for its members, but took in exchange the permanent lifting of a ceiling on how much they could earn in honoraria for giving speeches. More than half of the senators earned more than $20,000 for speeches in 1981, while very few representatives earned the House limit of $17,000.

Fazio says some people think the pay-raise issue would be easier for him because he has a lot of federal employees in his district. But he said a lot of the harshest calls were from federal workers. "They tell me that they would not mind if I just got the cost of living," Fazio says. "But when I tell them I haven't done that well, they complain that I get it 'all at once,' " he adds.

In his floor argument for the pay raise, Fazio pointed out that between 1971 and 1981, the federal measurement of cost of living increased by 121 percent while congressional pay went up 42.7 percent.

Not all reaction to the pay-raise was hostile. In Fazio's home district, *The Sacramento Bee* editorialized in his support, calling his position "reasonable" and criticizing the Senate's action to exempt itself from limits on outside income as "hypocritical." The *Los Angeles Times* also criticized the dual salary system under which senators declined the pay raise but remained free to accept unlimited special-interest honoraria.

Congressman Fazio probably hopes his constituents remember that reasoning at election time.

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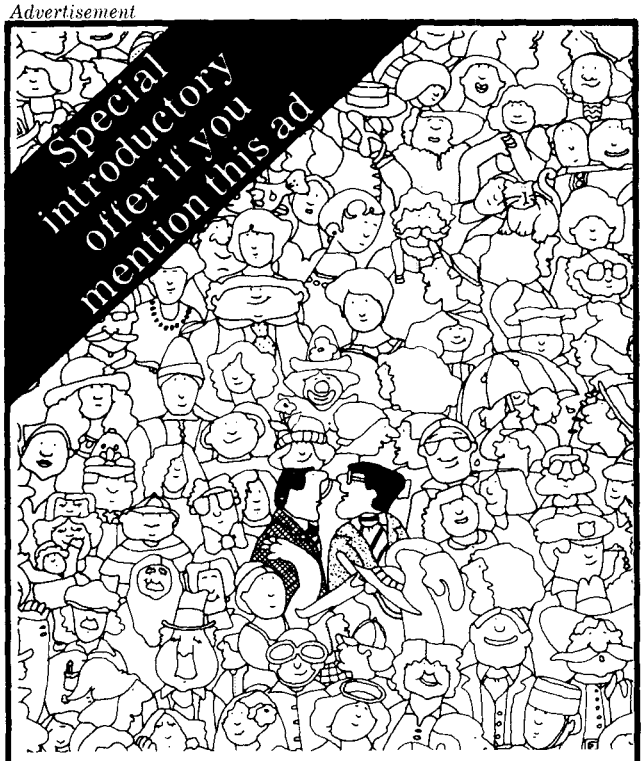

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No blues for Pete Kelly, the Democrats' upbeat new leader

By MICHELE WILLENS

Peter Kelly hopped into a cab at the San Francisco Airport one day last October and found himself in the presence of a chatty driver who felt like talking politics. The cabbie got onto the governor's race and said he was voting for George Deukmejian because he was afraid a black governor would give all the money to other blacks. But by the time they arrived at Kelly's destination, a posh home on Nob Hill, the driver had been convinced by his passenger to vote for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

Still, just to be sure, Kelly told the driver to wait one minute. He entered the house and returned with, of all people, Tom Bradley, who chatted a few minutes with the awestruck driver before returning to the fund raiser inside.

Peter Kelly 34, loves to recount that story and, in fact, it illustrates a great deal about the new state chairman of the Democratic Party. He feels everyone is a potential Democratic supporter; he is an effective persuader; and he is very much in tune with the varied constituencies of his party.

"Because Pete came from a lower-to- middle-class family in Fullerton, he has an easy time relating to all kinds of people and he has absolutely no elitism," says George David Kieffer, a law partner of Kelly's. "He has this uncanny ability to sit at a table with a union organizer, an oil executive and a CED (Campaign for Economic Democracy) member and not only enjoy and get along with all three, but also reach some sort of accommodation among them."

Kelly has been laying the groundwork for his new post for about 12 years -- since graduating from Cal State Fullerton and Southwestern Law School. He was finance director and later executive director of the state Democratic Party. He then served as its counsel while also running Yvonne Burke's 1978 campaign for attorney general and serving as finance co-chairman of the 1980 Carter-Mondale campaign. Also in 1980, he was elected Southern California chairman of the party.

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a regular contributor to the Journal.

Since 1976 he has been an attorney with the West Los Angeles firm of Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg and Tunney. He is now a partner. Kelly has often been called the "little Manatt" due to their close relationship, their similar personal styles and their similar paths to power. Manatt is a former state party chairman and now head of the national party. Both men are wittier and more outgoing than they appear to be on first meeting; both have always looked older than their years. But Kelly says there are differences, too:

"Chuck has always been much more interested in national politics than I have been," he says. "I like it right here and have absolutely no desire to work in Washington. But Chuck has been an important role model for me in his ability to blend the professional and political parts of his life."

The Manatt-Kelly connection may have been a factor in Kelly's somewhat rocky road to the chairmanship, although he eventually brought all factions together and won an uncontested election at the state convention in mid-January.

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has never had a very friendly alliance with Manatt, and some legislative sources say that was one reason Brown was slow to endorse Kelly's bid for the post. Brown apparently was looking for a member of the Assembly to run for the post. As long ago as the platform convention of January 1982, Kelly started hearing rumors that Speaker Brown was talking to Maxine Waters about running.

"I knew right then I had to start thinking about a real campaign," Kelly recalls. He put three people on staff full time and raised nearly $30,000 to finance receptions around the state and to send early mailings to probable delegates to the upcoming party convention in Sacramento.

Assemblywoman Waters always disclaimed interest in the job, but that didn't stop the rumors. Next came the name of Richard Alatorre as a potential candidate for the chairmanship.

Kelly thought the worst was over when Speaker Brown called him right after the November election to say he was hoping the rumors would stop and that he didn't want to fight with Kelly.

But a week later, while toweling off after a shower, Kelly turned on the TV to hear that Willie Brown had "offered"

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the chairmanship to defeated senatorial candidate Jerry Brown.

"I remember standing there saying, 'What am I doing in a towel? I guess I'd better get to work,' " Kelly says. He never spoke to Jerry Brown about it but says he never really thought that the ex-governor would go for the party post.

Although he denies actively trying to find an alternative to Kelly, Willie Brown did call Tom Hayden right after the November elections and told him to "hold off on the CED endorsement" for state chairman until further notice. Despite Brown's importance to Hayden's future as a new assemblyman, Hayden listened politely, hung up the phone and told the CED board to vote immediately on their endorsement, knowing its choice would be Kelly.

For good reason. Two years earlier, Kelly had been the first high-level party official to seek out the CED and welcome the organization into the party. "I didn't know Hayden or much about CED at the time," Kelly says, "but it didn't take me long to realize the radical image pinned on them is flat wrong. Except for their rigid philosophies on rent control, I think most of their ideas are sound, and many will become state laws in the future. For example, that was the first place I heard about allowing certain public employee pension funds to be used for investment in new, presumably high-tech, companies. That idea was pretty much Proposition 6 on the last ballot.

"They are also the most successful group for bringing bright young people into the process, and they have great organizing ability," Kelly adds. "But let's be honest: Part of my motivation in going to them was practical politics. I was running for Southern Chair at the time and was wondering who the hell are these guys with 15 percent of the delegates to the state convention?"

A favorite of labor

Kelly's relationship with CED was not without risk. Chairwoman Pelosi didn't trust the organization and thought Kelly got too close too quickly. There was similar pressure from other, more traditional party regulars. But Kelly never wavered and, in fact, hosted the organization's main dinner last year and co-chaired Hayden's dinner.

Kelly's ability to deal with all elements of the party, along with his strengths as a fund raiser, could make him the most active and interesting party chief in years. One of the groups fully behind him is organized labor, with an enthusiasm it hasn't felt for awhile. "We've had 10 years' experience with him and he organically understands the role of labor in the Democratic Party," says Jim Wood, associate director of the Committee on Political Education (COPE) and Kelly's campaign chairman in 1982. "His family were wage earners, and he's always understood our concerns. I think he'll give us the kind of party we haven't had in 20 years."

Kelly says his first priorities as chairman will be to focus on the 1984 elections and to convert California from a "media state" to a politically organized one. "I want to make sure we are applying our best technologies to all the '84 races," he says. "Obviously, we want a big voter registration drive and a big get-out-the-vote campaign. And I want to see our mailing lists updated and fully utilized, and things like the absentee ballot explored. For too long, California has been seen merely as an export and media state, but I want to see our money stay here."

To raise money, Kelly plans to set up a committee of members of the congressional delegation and the Legislature as well as representatives of the major 1984 presidential candidates — all of them chipping in about $25,000 for starters. He also hopes to revitalize the traditional Democratic Party constituencies.

"I think we have to ask why the turnout in the black communities, for example, was so low last time," he says. "There wasn't enough on-the-ground organization. We need to open field offices in those communities around the state and get people involved again."

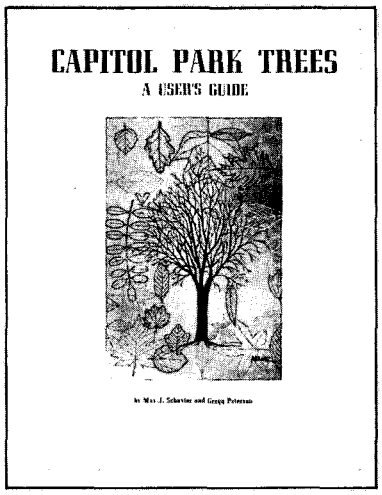
As for his own future, Kelly says he isn't looking beyond the next two years. He has thought of public office but says he prefers to combine private-sector law practice with ongoing activity in Democratic politics.

Capitol Park Trees

A User's Guide

by Max J. Schuster and Gregg Peterson

Anyone who has ever visited the Capitol in Sacramento or is interested in plants and trees will be fascinated with a new book available at a special discount to readers of *California Journal*. This large-format book describes and illustrates 209 of the trees in the 40-acre park surrounding the state Capitol building. They range from the very rare Giant Sequoia, native to a small region of California, to the Oriental Camphor and the Italian Stone Pines. Many of the trees are native to California or are planted here. Additional sections describe tree classification ("It's all Latin to me"), history of the Capitol and the park, a glossary plus a tree-identification matrix. The book is list-priced at $9.95. We are able to make it available to *Journal* readers at a 10 percent discount: $8.96 plus 54 cents tax, for a total of **$9.50.** Orders must be prepaid by check, MasterCard or Visa. Supplies are limited; send your order early.



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The incumbent-protection plan for legislative reapportionment

Congressman Howard Berman and Assemblywoman Maxine Waters had to stay up until 5 o'clock one December morning, settling their dispute over how much "rednecky" territory would be in a Los Angeles congressional district that Waters, a black, would like someday to call her own. But out of such sacrifice, a new Democratic reapportionment package was born. And just in the nick of time. The legislators completed action on the two bills December 30th, and Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. signed them January 2nd, only a day before Republican Governor George Deukmejian took charge.

The reapportionment bills were the major product of an unusual legislative session that began December 6th and continued through the month. Usually after an election the Legislature convenes briefly in early December, recesses through the holidays and returns in January for regular business. But 1982 was different. Faced by the need for a hurry-up reapportionment and by a current year budget deficit that was ballooning by the minute, Democratic leaders called a special session to start work at once.

In the end, only reapportionment got done. Although both houses acted on several minor bills, and the Senate voted on a host of Brown's last-minute appointees, there was no agreement on the other major issue: what to do about the billion dollar-plus budget deficit for 1982-83. Despite warnings of harm to the state's credit rating if nothing were done, and of payless paydays for state employees, lawmakers could find no common ground between those who wanted a major tax increase and those who wanted deep spending cuts.

Preserving incumbents

Although Democrats were in a rush to complete reapportionment before Republican Deukmejian came in, three of the four reapportionments that got done — Senate, Assembly and Board of Equalization — turned out to be bipartisan plans. Generally speaking, each was devised to protect the incumbents of both parties and preserve the status quo: 25 Democrats to 15 Republicans in the Senate, 48 to 32 in the Assembly and 3 to 1 on the Equalization Board. (The board's fifth member is the state controller.)

But such bipartisan harmony was nowhere to be seen or heard in connection with the fourth reapportionment, that of the state's 45 congressional districts. Republicans are still incensed at the job done on them last year by Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco and see nothing in the new plan to undo it. And indeed, in the annals of gerrymandering, Burton's effort should rank with the best. Although the national recession undoubtedly was responsible for part of the Republican disaster, it cannot explain the loss of six seats, creating a 28-17 Democratic edge in the 1983 delegation. In any case, Republicans announced immediately after the new plan was approved that they would be challenging it in any or all of three ways: referendum, court suit and initiative campaign.

The first to get started was a referendum. Launched January 6th by a Republican group, the campaign — if successful — would nullify only the congressional reapportionment law and force legislators to deal with that issue again. This time, though, Republican Deukmejian would hold the gubernatorial veto power, and his threats to use it would (supporters hope) force majority Democrats to give more favorable district boundaries to the GOP.

The shape of Phil Burton's congressional district

However, GOP leaders in Congress decided later to drop the plan, saying that they would attack the congressional reapportionment in the courts or with an initiative. Although no decisions were made, three types of initiative were mentioned. One would present voters with new district boundaries drawn by Republicans; another would set new rules for how the Legislature reapportions; and the third would give the reapportionment task to an outside agency, such as the Fair Political Practices Commission.

None of this, of course, was supposed to happen. Thanks to a Republican-sponsored referendum, voters last June rejected the Democrats' initial reapportionment. But in November, voters surprisingly rejected a Republican-Common Cause-sponsored follow-up initiative that would have

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created a new, 10-member commission to take over the reapportionment task. (The Democratic lines were used in both elections because the Supreme Court ruled before hand that they were the only legally acceptable lines available.)

The unexpected defeat threw reapportionment back to the Democratically controlled Legislature that wasn't scheduled to begin serious business until the first of the new year. But with a Democratic governor still on hand to sign whatever bills might be produced, party leaders decided to reapportion at once.

A formidable obstacle

Burton, often brash and arrogant, did not lobby this latest handiwork through the Legislature. Instead, congressional Democrats gave the job to one of Los Angeles' most prominent new congressmen, Howard Berman. Berman, who only two years before had been lobbying his colleagues to become speaker of the Assembly, found that one of his most formidable obstacles this time was Waters, chairwoman of the Assembly's Election and Reapportionment Committee. Waters would like to run someday for the seat now held by 75-year-old Democratic Congressman Augustus Hawkins, and she objected to placing what she called the "rednecky" city of Downey in the predominantly black district. According to Berman, the dispute ended at 5 one morning when about two-thirds of Downey was removed. With one exception, the congressional plan passed both houses on straight party votes. The exception was Senate Democratic floor Leader John Garamendi of Walnut Grove. He wanted Stockton and Fresno placed in separate congressional districts, but was refused because that would have required a major overhaul of the bill.

Concerning the Senate and Assembly reapportionments, Assembly Democrats initially proposed a hardball plan that would have put eight incumbent Republicans into four districts, forcing them to move or run against each other. However, within a short time both sides agreed to an incumbent-protection measure similar to the one that was being prepared in the Senate. Essentially, the deal in both houses went like this: Democrats agreed not to use their majority power to gerrymander Republicans into unfavorable districts. In return, Republicans agreed not to challenge the resultant reapportionment bill with a referendum. In effect, Republicans made their guarantee ironclad by providing enough votes to give the measure "urgency" status (two-thirds majority). Under the constitution, urgency bills cannot be subject to a referendum.

The Equalization Board reapportionment is contained in the congressional district bill, but is not threatened by the referendum. For the Equalization Board, this is the first reapportionment since 1971. The board, which collects the sales tax and assesses utility properties, was supposed to have been reapportioned last year, but the bill to do it died in a conference committee. This time, the board's four elected members support the plan.

Angry objections

However, there were disputes, the most bitter of which involved two Republicans: 71-year-old veteran Senator Ray Johnson of Chico and 32-year-old freshman Senator John Doolittle of Sacramento. Johnson, folksy and garrulous, represents the sprawling 1st District in northeastern California and was expecting, he says, to seek re-election in 1984. Doolittle, watchful and bright, was a surprise victor over former Senator Al Rodda in 1980 but was effectively reapportioned out of his district in 1982. However, he still has two years left to serve and needs a new district in which to run. Over Johnson's angry objections, Senate Republicans voted among themselves to alter the 1st District boundaries so that Doolittle could run in it and win, and Johnson, in all probability, could not. However, Johnson has been continuing the fight and another bill may be approved later to give him a better chance. — R.F.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on major roll calls during the special session. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes **N — No**
• — Absent or not voting

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 27 votes)

SENATE (25D, 15R)	Appt. A SB 3x AB 15x Appt. B AB 2x		Appt. A SB 3x AB 15x Appt. B AB 2x
Alquist (D)	YYYNY	Maddy (R)	*****
Ayala (D)	YYY*Y	Marks (R)	YYN*N
Beverly (R)	N*N*N	McCorquodale (D)	NYYYY
Boatwright (D)	YYYY*	Mello (D)	NYYYY
Campbell (R)	NYN*N	Montoya (D)	YYYN*
Carpenter (D)	Y-YYY*	Nielsen (R)	NNNNN
Craven (R)	NYN**	Petris (D)	YYYYY
Davis (R)	NNNNN	Presley (D)	NYNYY
Deddeh (D)	YYYNY	Richardson (R)	NNNN*
Dills (D)	YYYNY	Robbins (D)	NYY*Y
Doolittle (R)	NYNNN	Roberti (D)	YYYYY
Ellis (R)	NYNNN	Rosenthal (D)	YYYYY
Foran (D)	YYY*Y	Royce (R)	NYNNN
Garamendi (D)	NYNYN	Russell (R)	NNNN*
Greene, B. (D)	YYY*Y	Seymour (R)	NYNNN
Greene, L. (D)	YYY*Y	Speraw (R)	*****
Hart (D)	YNYYY	Stiern (D)	NYNYY
Johnson (R)	NNNN*	Torres (D)	NYY*Y
Keene (D)	NYYYY	Vuich (D)	NNNYY
Lockyer (D)	YYYYY	Watson (D)	YYYYY

SENATE

Governor's appointment (A) — Appointment of Nancy Kirk as legal counsel to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Rejected, 17-21.

SB 3x (Boatwright) — Democratic reapportionment plan for both houses of the California Legislature. Passed 30-7.

AB 15x (Papan) — Replaces the director of Finance with the state treasurer on the State Personnel Board and the State Teachers' Retirement Board. Passed 21-17.

Governor's appointment (B) — Appointment of Daniel Richard to the Public Utilities Commission. Rejected 15-13 (21 required).

AB 2x (Alatorre) — Democratic reapportionment plan for California congressional districts and the State Board of Equalization. Passed 21-10.

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ASSEMBLY

AB 12x (Hayden) — Increases penalties on the late payment of personal and business income taxes, revises interest rates on late taxes, increases corporate estimated tax payments, accelerates sales tax and income tax withholding payments to the state. Passed 45-29. To Senate.

SB 3x (Boatwright) — Democratic reapportionment plan for both houses of the California Legislature. Passed 55-20.

AB 29x (Robinson) — Extends for three years the authorization for nurses, physicians' assistants and pharmacists involved in health manpower pilot projects to prescribe, dispense and administer drugs and devices. Failed 32-32.

AB 2x (Alatorre) — Democratic reapportionment plan for California congressional districts and the State Board of Equalization. Assembly gave final approval, 42-17.

ASSEMBLY (48D, 32R)	AB 12x SB 3x AB 29x AB 2x		AB 12x SB 3x AB 29x AB 2x		AB 12x SB 3x AB 29x AB 2x		AB 12x SB 3x AB 29x AB 2x
Agnos (D)	YYYY	Costa (D)	*YY*	Jones (R)	NNNN	O'Connell (D)	YNYY
Alatorre (D)	YYYY	Davis (D)	YYYY	Katz (D)	YY*Y	Papan (D)	*Y*Y
Allen (R)	NNNN	Elder (D)	YYNY	Kelley (R)	NYN*	Peace (D)	YYYY
Areias (D)	YYYY	Farr (D)	YYY*	Killea (D)	YYYY	Robinson (D)	YYYY
Bader (R)	NNNN	Felando (R)	N***	Klehs (D)	YYYY	Rogers (R)	NNNN
Baker (R)	NYNN	Filante (R)	NNNN	Konnyu (R)	YNN*	Roos (D)	YY*Y
Bane (D)	YY*Y	Floyd (D)	YYYY	LaFollette (R)	****	Seastrandi (R)	NNNN
Bates (D)	YYYY	Frazee (R)	N*N*	Lancaster (R)	NYN*	Sebastiani (R)	NNNN
Bergeson (R)	NYNN	Frizzelle (R)	*Y**	Leonard (R)	NNN*	Sher (D)	****
Bradley (R)	NYN*	Goggin (D)	YYY*	Lewis (R)	NN*N	Statham (R)	NNN*
Bronzan (D)	YYYY	Hannigan (D)	YYYY	Margolin (D)	YYYY	Stirling (R)	NYN*
Brown, D. (D)	NN*N	Harris (D)	YY*Y	McAlister (D)	YYN*	Tanner (D)	YYYY
Brown, W. (D)	YYYY	Hauser (D)	YYYY	McClintock (R)	NNNN	Tucker (D)	YYNY
Calderon (D)	YYYY	Hayden (D)	YYYY	Mojonnier (R)	NNNN	Vasconcellos (D)	YYYY
Campbell (D)	YYYY	Herger (R)	NNN*	Molina (D)	YYYY	Vicencia (D)	YYYY
Chacon (D)	YYNY	Hill (R)	NNNN	Moore (D)	YY*Y	Waters, M. (D)	YYYY
Clute (D)	YYYY	Hughes (D)	YY*Y	Moorhead (D)	Y***	Waters, N. (D)	YYNY
Condit (D)	YYYY	Isenberg (D)	YYYY	Mountjoy (R)	NNN*	Wright (R)	NNN*
Connelly (D)	YYYY	Johnson (R)	NYNN	Naylor (R)	NYYN	Wyman (R)	NNN*
Cortese (D)	YY*Y	Johnston (D)	YY*Y	Nolan (R)	NYNN	Young (D)	*YNY

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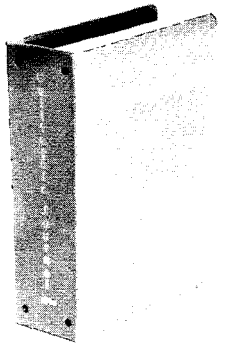

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Los Angeles gets a new DA

By JOAN ZYDA

In the nature of things, the district attorney of Los Angeles County is a potential candidate for statewide office. So it's worth looking for a moment at the newest DA of LA, Robert H. Philibosian. Philibosian, 42, boasts of having been a conservative Republican since the age of 8. He succeeds moderate Democrat John Van de Kamp, who — like Evelle Younger a few years before him — went on to become state attorney general.

Philibosian won the job largely on the recommendation of a powerful ally: Governor George Deukmejian. Both men, of course, are of Armenian descent and enjoy the support of California's small but often well-to-do Armenian community. (Philibosian said jokingly that Deukmejian's inaugural looked like an Armenian picnic.) However Deukmejian's recommendation was based more on philosophy and on Philibosian's service as a top deputy when Deukmejian was attorney general. As such, Philibosian helped direct daily operations in the Department of Justice with a staff of 2,900.

Philibosian's new job pays more, $67,142 a year to $62,184, but there are fewer employees to worry about, 2,000. The new staff includes 600 attorneys and has an annual budget of $80 million.

When the late District Attorney Joseph Busch died in 1975, Deukmejian himself was up for appointment to replace him — a job Deukmejian eventually lost to Van de Kamp.

Beating the better-known

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors handed the county post to Philibosian on December 28th, after two split roll calls. Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, a liberal Democrat, changed his mind and gave Philibosian the third vote needed from the five-member board. Other votes came from conservative Republican Supervisors Deane Dana and Pete Schabarum.

A prosecutor for the last 15 years, Philibosian won out over the two highly touted and better-known leading candidates, U.S. Attorney Stephen Trott, a moderate Republican, and former Republican Assemblyman Dave Stirling of Whittier.

Deukmejian himself had lobbied for Philibosian with some board members and, as one supervisor put it, "asked for our sincere consideration." Schabarum had said that Deukmejian's recommendation of Philibosian was merely "a suggestion (to Schabarum) between two individuals who have known each other for 18 years."

The new district attorney has pledged to be a "vigorous" prosecutor of drug-related cases whether they involve "Hollywood celebrities or Watts street criminals. Drugs breed crime," he said. "This is a belief I've held from my earliest days as a prosecutor."

He also favors legislation that would change California law to cut down on mistrials by requiring a 10-2 vote for conviction, except in death penalty cases where, he said, the requirement for a unanimous finding should be preserved.

Philibosian — a reserved but friendly man who favors dark, three-piece business suits — is no stranger to the district attorney's office, having worked there between 1968 and 1979, including tenure as head of the San Fernando Valley office in Van Nuys. He joined the state attorney general's staff in March 1979, when Deukmejian hand-picked him as chief assistant attorney general. Last November he was appointed chief deputy attorney general — again by Deukmejian.

Extolling the virtues

He has a bachelor's degree in political science from Stanford University and a law degree from Southwestern University. A native Californian who now lives in Tarzana, he enjoys extolling the virtues of church, school and home — particularly as the best ways of stopping crime before it begins.

But he keeps his wife, Nancy, and two children out of the spotlight, partially because "it's a matter of security.

"I don't talk too much about my family," he says, "but both my wife and my children wanted this for me just as much as I wanted it. In fact, when my son saw me on television (at the supervisors' meeting), he said, 'Daddy looks very happy.' "

California's Armenian community helped its favorite son, Deukmejian, with heavy campaign contributions during the governor's race. However, Armenians — numbering around 100,000 in the Los Angeles area — kept a low profile in Philibosian's bid for district attorney, according to Richard Hovanissian, a UCLA scholar in Armenian history and a community activist. "I guess we were banking on his personal friendship with Deukmejian," he said.

Joan Zyda is a staff writer for the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

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Perspective from WASHINGTON

By Leo Rennert

A primitive ritual

Every two years at the start of a new Congress, there's a tribal initiation on Capitol Hill that also has the trappings of a headhunters' sacrificial feast. It's known as the parceling out of committee assignments — a ritual that converts outsiders into insiders. The object is to end up high on the totem pole, to walk away with the flashiest mask and the brightest feathers. Since there are only a handful of powerful committees, blessed is the newcomer who manages to force his way into one of them. It can mean guaranteed success for a legislative career and a big re-election boost since an exalted committee position can produce dazzling feats for constituents. On the other hand, first-termers who end up getting the dregs in the scramble for committee slots are off to a weak and uncertain start. They are pitied like poor relatives. For them, the ritual went sour — like a *bar mitzvah* without a fountain pen.

FRESHMEN ARE NOT THE ONLY ACTORS in these strange power exertions. Older members also enter the fray — for personal advancement or as patrons eager to promote the cause of a newcomer. Party leaders emerge from hibernation and throw all their energies into the exercise to ensure that loyal protégés get coveted spots and that potential troublemakers are left out in the cold. As the pushing and shoving reach frenzied proportions, the winners are carried aloft amid great rejoicing while the losers retire to the shadows to lick their wounds.

The ritual is at its goriest in the House because it has more members fighting over choice morsels. The Senate, with fewer claimants for good committee assignments, conducts itself with more decorum. In the House, the donnybrook is principally among members of the majority party, which controls the spoils.

This year, California added considerable spice to the curtain-opener. The 1980 census enlarged its delegation, already the biggest in the House, from 43 to 45 members. By controlling reapportionment, California Democrats picked up six seats and emerged with a lopsided 28-17 majority. When the 98th Congress opened, the delegation included 10 newcomers — seven on the Democratic side.

To impress other tribes, Californians had their work cut out to nail down choice committee spots for their new arrivals. They also had to resolve strains stemming from internal power rivalries and divisions. The old delegation chief, Phil Burton of San Francisco, found that he now must share some of his power with younger political allies in a sub-tribal unit from the wilds of West Los Angeles known as the Waxman-Berman organization. Henry Waxman, a rising star in the delegation, got potent reinforcements in last November's elections, including the arrival from Sacramento of his political partner, former Assemblyman Howard Berman. Counterbalancing the Burton-Waxman-Berman axis is another ambitious chieftain, Tony Coelho of Merced, chairman of the House Democratic Campaign Committee. Coelho has close links to Super-Chief Tip O'Neill, while Burton still is regarded with fear and trepidation by the Democratic leadership — even though it's been half a dozen years since he lost the majority leader post to Jim Wright of Texas by one vote in the 1976 version of this biennial bloodbath.

The Californians opened the proceedings with an ambitious move. Berman asked other freshmen to elect him as their representative on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee — a 30-member, leadership-dominated panel that controls all other committee assignments. Wright, fearing a power grab by Burton, countered by putting up his own protégé, John Bryant of Texas. Berman hoped to win the seat by quietly wooing the freshman class and by creating as few waves as possible. But Burton barged in and, in a widely publicized fracas in a Capitol Hill restaurant, publicly insulted Bryant and threatened political retribution unless the Texas freshman withdrew. It was a signal, albeit very clumsy, from one old bull (Burton) to another (Wright) not to enlarge his turf. But it didn't please Burton's closest allies in the Waxman-Berman group. Potentially serious rifts were averted when Berman managed to beat Bryant by two votes and successfully carved a niche for himself in the leadership's inner sanctum.

When Steering and Policy got down to business, the Californians managed to get a fair share of important committee slots. But there also were a couple of setbacks and the ride was unusually bumpy. The delegation had to overcome divisions from within and worries by the House leadership that the beefed-up California contingent could pose a threat if it were allowed to become too greedy. Barbara Boxer, the freshman from Marin County who succeeded John Burton, Phil's brother, narrowly lost a bid for Appropriations. "Someone who's a tool of both Burtons isn't going to get my vote," Democratic Caucus Chairman Gillis Long of Louisiana reportedly remarked.

THE CALIFORNIANS' MAIN OBJECTIVE was to place two newcomers on Commerce and another two on Banking. Richard Lehman of Fresno coasted to one spot on Banking. Esteban Torres of Los Angeles County also got on Banking, but with far greater difficulty. Bypassed at first by the leadership, Torres bounced back only after the California delegation threatened a major public protest. The word in the cloakrooms was that Lehman, by letting Coelho take him under his wing, got better leadership treatment than Torres, who has closer ties to Burton, Waxman and Berman. In jockeying for seats on Commerce, San Diego freshman Jim Bates grabbed a seat on that key panel, but a Waxman-Berman intimate, Mel Levine, struck out. Still, Waxman emerged as a big winner in the overall selection of liberal environmentalists for Commerce, where he now will have a stronger hand to fight off assaults on the Clean Air Act by Committee Chairman John Dingell of Michigan. California Democrats also scored big with the promotion of two returning members, George Miller and Vic Fazio, to the Budget Committee.

In the Senate, GOP freshman Pete Wilson didn't set off any fireworks by landing on Agriculture and Armed Services. In the House, the state's Republican freshmen had to settle for relatively minor committee posts. Predictably, the main event was on the Democratic side.

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— Hubert H. Humphrey

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